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CAN THE TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO DEFENCE FORCE
BE USED SUCCESSFULLY AS AN INSTRUMENT
OF NATION BUILDING IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO?

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

by

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Nation Building in Trinidad and Tobago?

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This study examines the role that military forces in less developed countries can play in nation building. It analyses the nation building contributions of the armed forces of Argentina, Brazil, Malaysia, Republic of Korea and Venezuela in their respective countries. The Civilian Conservation Corps that existed in the U.S. in the 1930s and the Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps are also analyzed. The evidence shows that armed forces can assist, in great measure, in nation building. There is, however, the danger that they can become politicized and eventually seize political power. The evidence reveals that there can also be economic and social disadvantages to military nation building. The study shows that the patterns of civil-military relations that exist in less developed nations could influence the success or failure of military nation building programs. By looking at the advantages and disadvantages of military involvement in nation building, the resources of the Trinidad and Tobago Defense Force, and the need for nation building activities in Trinidad and Tobago, the study concludes that the Trinidad and Tobago Defense Force can successfully be used for nation building in Trinidad and Tobago.

Nation Building, Civil-Military Relations, Role of the
Military in Nation Building, Nation Building Case Studies

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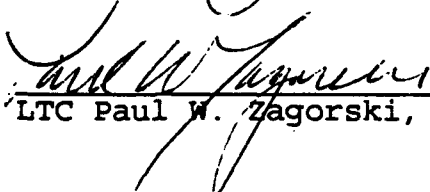
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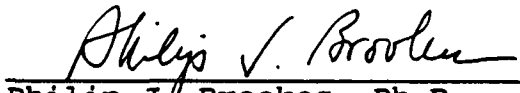
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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

CAN THE TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO DEFENCE FORCE BE USED SUCCESSFULLY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATION BUILDING IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO? by Lt Col C. Basil Thompson, Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force, 195 pages.

This study examines the role that military forces in less developed countries can play in nation building. It analyses the nation building contributions of the armed forces of Argentina, Brazil, Malaysia, Republic of Korea and Venezuela in their respective countries. The Civilian Conservation Corps that existed in the U.S. in the 1930s and the Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps are also analyzed.

The evidence shows that armed forces can assist, in great measure, in nation building. There is, however, the danger that they can become politicized and eventually seize political power. The evidence reveals that there can also be economic and social disadvantages to military nation building. The study shows that the patterns of civil-military relations that exist in less developed nations could influence the success or failure of military nation building programs.

By looking at the advantages and disadvantages of military involvement in nation building, the resources of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force, and the need for nation building activities in Trinidad and Tobago, the study concludes that the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force can successfully be used for nation building in Trinidad and Tobago.

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Research work is both rewarding and difficult. The rewards take the form of new knowledge which the researcher acquires while researching. Difficulties are encountered when adjustments have to be made to written work, when time is limited and when appropriate research material is not being found. In writing this thesis, I experienced the joy of overcoming the many challenges that I faced. In the final analysis, the sense of achievement which I felt at the end, more than compensated for the long hours of work and periods of frustration which this research entailed.

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The Author

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	vii
 CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Overview	1
Terms and concepts	4
Background to Trinidad and Tobago	8
Scope of the Study	15
Importance of the Study	15
Subsidiary Questions	17
Assumptions	18
2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	19
Introduction	19
Civil-military Relations	20
Nation Building and the Armed Forces	32
Case studies	43
3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	49
Introduction	49
Survey	52
Case Studies	53
Interviews	58
4. CASE STUDIES	61

Argentina	61
Brazil	72
Republic of Korea	91
Malaysia	111
Venezuela	125
Two nation building programs	
Civilian Conservation Corps	135
Army Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps	141
Analysis of interviews	145
Analysis of survey results	148
5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	152
TABLES	162
APPENDIX	
A. QUESTIONNAIRE LETTER	166
B. BASE QUESTIONS	167
C. SPECIFIC QUESTIONS	168
ENDNOTES	171
BIBLIOGRAPHY	188
INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST	194

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Level of contribution in agriculture made by armed forces	162
2. Level of contribution in animal husbandry made by armed forces	162
3. Level of contribution in education made by armed forces	163
4. Level of contribution in engineering made by armed forces	163
5. Level of contribution in industrial development made by armed forces	164
6. Level of contribution in health services made by armed forces	164
7. Level of contribution in youth development made by armed forces	165
8. Level of contribution in fishing made by armed forces	165

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The topic of my thesis is the possible involvement of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force in nation building in Trinidad and Tobago. I define nation building as the development of physical, human, and administrative infrastructure in a nation.. It refers but is not limited to the building of roads, bridges, hospitals, and schools. It also encompasses activities geared towards the promotion of education, health, and welfare of the nation's citizens. There is a duty placed on governments throughout the world, to assist citizens in meeting their needs. Dr. Larry Yates, lecturer in United States-Latin American military relations at the United States Command and General Staff College (CGSC), underscored this stating that "states take the responsibility for the economic welfare of their people." Dr. John Fishel, lecturer in Latin America Strategic Studies at the CGSC put it another way. He states that the people hold governments responsible for economic and social welfare performance. Gene E. Bigler, commenting on the doctrine of developmentalism notes that the exclusive objective of the state is the achievement of societal advances in

industrialization, social welfare, national unification, and the like.¹ Because of this generally accepted principle, governments have tried to develop models which would ensure the most productive and efficient employment of their countries' natural resources, towards the goal of satisfying every need of their citizens.

Some governments have been successful in discharging this responsibility but most have not. Further, because the financial relationship between countries and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) is based on the level of development, it is important for countries to show potential for development. Countries therefore have become acutely aware of their status in the economic world, and the less developed and underdeveloped countries have begun an uphill march towards nation building.

Citizens, mindful of the wealth and economic prosperity of countries like the United States, Germany, and Japan, now demand more of their leaders. They grow impatient over their lack of advancement, and they press their leaders for favorable results. Leaders, therefore, have continued to search for models for nation building. Sometimes the models being followed are those which have been used by the now developed and advanced countries. The differences in the circumstances between the developed countries then, and the underdeveloped countries now, are

very often not taken into account. Failure results. Some leaders have sought to develop indigenous models, with native talents, to solve their problems. Others continue with the models of Keynes² and Friedman.³ Still others seek refuge with the International Monetary Fund. They borrow from international lending agencies and apply short-term solutions. Their financial resources are drained, an exodus of talent, (academic and technical), takes place and underdevelopment persists. Nation building is a difficult process, requiring synchronization of the natural and human resources of the country, skillfully employed by patriotic leaders.

In some countries, these economic problems eventually assume political dimensions, and instead of discipline and tolerance prevailing in such societies, we see a movement towards disorder. Political and economic instability curtail foreign investment, interest groups seek to promote their designs, and often there is insurgency, leading to violent overthrow of the government. In pursuit of a successful model, nations turn outward to other nations or inward to the civil service, the rich, the clergy or the military.

The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago has had its share of fortunes and misfortunes. It benefitted from the worldwide rise in oil prices in the early 1970s, but it faced an insurgency during the same period.⁴ The country is

capable of making great nation building strides for it possesses a wealth of human and natural resources.

At present, in Trinidad and Tobago, there exists a feeling of hopelessness among the youth. The leaders are struggling to ensure that the traditional values of the society, such as respect for the rights of others, remain intact and that the youth continue to follow the example of the role models to which they have been exposed. The era of advanced technology and state of the art communications have made Trinidad and Tobago a part of the world stage, the country now being in real time contact with every world occurrence and, therefore, exposed to various influences which do not always support its values.

Terms and Concepts

Caudillismo. The union of personalism and violence for the conquest of power. It is a means for the selection and establishment of political leadership in the absence of a social structure and political groupings adequate to the functioning of representative government.⁵

Caribbean Community(CARICOM). A Caribbean organization, established by the treaty of Chaguaramas, on July 4, 1973 to replace the former Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) established in 1967. The member nations are Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Monsterrat, St. Christopher and Nevis, St Lucia, St. Vincent and the

Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago. The secretariat is located in Georgetown, Guyana. Its main purpose is economic cooperation in the area. Both common external tariffs and common protective policies for trade, with countries beyond its membership, were established by CARICOM. It established fiscal incentives to industry and taxation arrangements to smooth relations among its members.⁶

Civic Action. See Nation Building.

Establishment. The level of manpower and equipment authorized by the government of Trinidad and Tobago for the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force. It states the number and types of units authorized as well as the specifications for radios, weapons, vehicles, and other equipment.

Defence Act. The body of laws that governs the command, administration and discipline of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force.

Developed Countries. The market oriented economies of the mainly democratic nations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development(OECD), Bermuda, Israel, South Africa, and the European ministates; also known as the First World, The North, industrial countries; generally have a per capita GNP/GDP in excess of \$10,000 although some OECD countries and South Africa have figures well under \$10,000 and two of the excluded OPEC countries have figures of more than \$10,000.⁷

Granja Militares. Small communities established by the armed forces in Venezuela to attract people to move from urban areas to the unpopulated areas of the country. All services are provided by the military.

Gran Viraje. The name given to the government policy, established in 1989 by President Carlos Andres Perez, designed to change Venezuela to an open market economy.

Gross Domestic Product(GDP). The official measure of the total output of goods and services produced, in an economy, in a given year.⁸

Gross National Product(GNP). The market value, as determined from national income and product accounts, of all the goods and services produced in a country, in a given year, including net income from abroad.⁹

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development(World Bank). A United Nations specialized agency that initially promoted economic rebuilding after World War II and now provides economic development loans.¹⁰

International Monetary Fund(IMF). A United Nations specialized agency concerned with world economic stability and economic development.¹¹

Mestizo. Persons of black, Indian and European ancestry.

Multi-cultural Society. A society which has diverse ethnic groups, languages and religions.

Nation Building. The development of physical, human, and administrative infrastructure in a nation. It refers, but is not limited, to the building of roads, bridges, hospitals, and schools. It also encompasses activities geared towards the promotion of education, health, and welfare of the nation's citizens.

National Development. In this thesis the term is used synonymously with nation building.

OPEC. Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Patois. A dialect of broken French spoken by residents in some rural areas in Trinidad and Tobago.

Senior Officer. In the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force, it refers to an officer of or above the rank of major/lieutenant commander.

Third World. Refers to the poorer nations of Africa, Latin America and Asia as opposed to western countries.

Underdeveloped Countries. Those less developed countries with the potential for above average economic growth.¹²

Undeveloped Countries. Those extremely poor, less developed countries with little prospect for growth.¹³

Background to Trinidad and Tobago

Physical Geography

This nation state is located in the northern hemisphere at 10-11 degrees North Latitude and 60-61 degrees West Longitude. It is 1978 square miles in area and is comprised of two islands: Trinidad, the larger and historically more important, and Tobago, its neighbor to the northeast. They are the most southerly islands in the Caribbean. The capital of this republic is Port of Spain, which has a population of 350,000. The island of Trinidad is traversed by three hill ranges in the north, center, and south of the island; while Tobago has one main ridge which runs in a south-west to north-east direction across the island. Outside of the urban areas, the islands are both covered with lush green vegetation. There are beaches throughout, and Tobago has a coral reef where a variety of tropical fish can be found.¹⁴

Climate

The islands experience a tropical climate with good weather throughout the year. There is a dry season which runs from January to May, and a wet season which runs from June to December. Temperatures range from 80 to 100 degrees Fahrenheit. Situated just outside the hurricane zone, Trinidad and Tobago rarely experiences the hurricanes which have devastated so many of its sister islands in the Caribbean.¹⁵

History

Trinidad was re-discovered by Christopher Columbus, a navigator from Genoa in Italy, in 1498 on his third voyage to the West Indies. The island was then inhabited by the Carib people. Trinidad remained in Spanish hands until 1797 when it was captured for the British by Sir Ralph Abercromby. Tobago experienced many cultures, having been ruled by the Dutch, French, Spanish, and British between 1628 and 1803. In 1889, Trinidad and Tobago were united by the British. In 1956, internal self-government was granted. In 1962, the islands became independent; and in 1976, the nation became a republic within the Commonwealth of Nations.¹⁶

Society

Trinidad and Tobago is populated by one of the most diverse mixtures of races found anywhere in the world and with a population of only 1.2 million people, it contains Africans, Americans, East Indians, Chinese, and Europeans from many nations. These people have a history of peaceful coexistence, each with a deep patriotic feeling for Trinidad and Tobago, and a desire to promote nationalism. English is the main language though some Spanish, Hindi, and Patois is also spoken. Religions include Roman Catholicism, Hinduism, Islam, and Protestantism.¹⁷

Government

Trinidad and Tobago is a democratic republic. The Head of State and the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces is the President but his role is largely ceremonial. The Executive Branch of government is headed by the Prime Minister who is normally the political leader of the political party which holds the overall majority of the seats in Parliament. Parliament is comprised of an upper house, the Senate, and a lower house, the House of Representatives. Parliamentary elections are held every five years and are run on the first past the post, one man, one vote system. In this system, the country is divided into constituencies which represent parliamentary seats. During elections, the winner in each constituency is the individual who gains the highest number of votes. The political party which forms the Government, is the party which wins the election by capturing the most constituencies. The other branches of government are the Judiciary and the Legislature. All branches enjoy separation of powers and this separation is jealously guarded with each branch seeking to retain its independence.

Economy

At present the economy of Trinidad and Tobago is based on petroleum, utilizing the large amounts of natural gas found off the south and east coast. However, some crude oil is imported from Venezuela for refining in Trinidad.

This is because the refinery capacity exceeds the local daily production of crude oil, so in order to keep the refineries fully employed some crude has had to be imported. Other industries include: iron and steel, methanol and urea, automobile assembly, petrochemicals, asphalt, sugarcane, rum, citrus, cocoa, coffee, and banana production. Fishing also contributes to the national economy, as well as the tourist industry. Much of the international trade is done with the United States, the United Kingdom, the countries of Central and South America, and the Caribbean community.¹⁸

Defence Force

The Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force was formed in 1962 and comprises a unit of land forces called the Regiment and a naval unit called the Coast Guard. The force is civilian controlled and has as its controlling body, the Defence Council. This body is charged with the command, administration and discipline of the force.

In accordance with Section 5(2) of the Defence Act, Chapter 14:01 of the Laws of Trinidad and Tobago, the units of the Defence Force are charged with the defence of Trinidad and Tobago and with such other duties as may from time to time be defined by the (Defence) Council. Since the ratification of the Defence Act, these other duties have never been defined nor promulgated. Instead, units of the Defence Force have, over the years, assumed various roles

largely out of a sense of civic duty and have adopted these roles as part of their operational responsibilities without any clear policy directives.¹⁹

In addition to the de jure responsibilities stated above, the de facto responsibilities of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force are:

1. To cooperate with and assist the civil power in maintaining law and order.
2. To assist the civil authorities in times of crisis or disaster.
3. To perform ceremonial functions on behalf of the State.
4. To provide search and rescue services in keeping with national requirements and international agreements.
5. To assist in the prevention of trafficking in narcotics and other illegal goods.
6. To safeguard and preserve the living and non-living resources in the waters under national jurisdiction.
7. To monitor the safety of shipping in national waters.
8. Pollution monitoring and counter measures.
9. To assist in the prevention of illegal immigration.
10. To assist in the development of the national community.

To discharge these duties, the Regiment is configured as a light infantry force with a civil engineer component while

the Coast Guard is equipped with fast patrol boats, launches, and light aircraft. It also has an engineering component.

The recession which has affected so many countries is being felt in Trinidad and Tobago. The economy is struggling to survive, the prices of consumer items are rising daily, and the rate of inflation in 1991 was 11.1 percent.²⁰ In 1990, the unemployment rate was 21 percent.²¹

Trinidad and Tobago is situated seven miles from the South American mainland. As result of this location, it has become a transit point for illegal drugs en route to Europe and the United States from Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela. This has resulted in the birth of a cocaine industry in the country, driven by user demand and supplied by cocaine from South America, which is bound for the large cities in Europe and the United States. Much of the crimes being committed is the result of the illicit drug dealing.²²

The country is not without its share of white collar crime. However, this is being addressed by the Government and a special crime unit has been set up to deal with this type of crime. There is also industrial unrest involving the major trade unions. Threats of general strikes have become the norm. In addition, one sees the attempts by some politicians to create divisions within the society by

highlighting job placement anomalies. Rivalry between the two major ethnic groups, Africans and East Indians is also being encouraged.²³

In July 1990, a group of Muslim fundamentalists called the Jamaat Al Muslimeen, attempted a violent overthrow of the duly elected government. It was unsuccessful largely due to the intervention and positive reaction of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force. The Defence Force was awarded the nation's highest honor, (the Trinity Cross), for its distinguished performance during the crisis. The status of and esteem for the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force rose dramatically and continues to be high. The Defence Force is deemed incorruptible, hardworking, honest, patriotic, professional, and one of the few institutions which still functions in the manner it was meant to.²⁴

There is, therefore, a dire need to rebuild that patriotic spirit which once pervaded every strata of society and once more ensure that our every action is imbued with nationalistic fervor. It is against this background that the question of the Defence Force's suitability, ability, and preparedness to assist in the development of Trinidad and Tobago is asked.²⁵ The society is in transition, and it is propitious now to attempt to reshape it so it can fit properly into the world society. The thesis question is:

Can the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force be used successfully as an instrument of nation building in Trinidad and Tobago?

Scope of the Study

This study examines nation building/civic action theory. It outlines a general framework for understanding and appreciating what nation building is and the ways in which the military forces of Trinidad and Tobago can contribute to it.

Importance of the Study

In democratic societies, the injection of military forces, in areas which were previously deemed to be the preserve of the civilian population, is almost always viewed with mistrust and suspicion. There have been instances where the military, after becoming involved in civil/political programs, has gained political ascendancy and eventually formed governments. The experience of Bolivia is such a case. The Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), which had assumed power in 1952, became suspicious of the Army. The MNR remembered that "a hostile army had kept it from power between 1947 and 1952."²⁶ It began to "politicize and proselytize the new army."²⁷ The army was "redirected into such developmental tasks as road construction, colonization, and agricultural production."²⁸ The military grew in prominence and in November 1964, the

Army assumed political power in Bolivia, after carrying out a successful coup against the Government.²⁹ Knowledge of this possibility has caused civilian political leaderships to, at times, attempt to isolate the military, although we see in literature a recognition by some governments of the positive role the military can play in nation building.

The body of literature dealing with the role of the military in nation building is not as large as the one dealing with the role of the military in political development. This study will expand that body of literature and, in terms of Third World nation building, will examine the merits and demerits of employing the military in nation building. In the specific context of the Caribbean Community, this study should serve as a platform for any model development involving civil/military cooperation in nation building.

It is hoped that this study will make some contribution to this field of nation building theory and at least, serve as a preliminary framework for more extensive research in the future. If a viable method of using the military towards nation building ends can be found, one which would ensure the continuation of civilian-controlled military forces, one which would preclude the takeover of governments by the military, then the eventual outcome should be a society which respects, trusts, and has confidence in its military. The society would be one in

which civil-military cooperation is normal and acceptable and one in which the people have pride in their military, as their defender, guardian, servant, and protector.

Subsidiary questions

The research question gives rise to a number of subsidiary questions.

1. What capabilities does the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force possess which makes it suitable for nation building?

2. Does the Government have the will, resolve, and inclination to involve the military in nation building in Trinidad and Tobago?

3. Are there any legal or social barriers to the involvement of the military in nation building in Trinidad and Tobago?

4. How will the success or failure of a program of nation building be judged?

5. Has the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force ever been used in nation building before. If so, what were the results?

6. Will the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force be able to discharge its primary role in addition to a role in nation building?

Assumptions

1. All existing vacancies in the Establishment will be filled.

2. The external threat situation which has prevailed in Trinidad and Tobago since 1962 will not change significantly.

3. Trinidad and Tobago will remain a democratic republic where human rights are respected and the military is controlled by the civil authorities.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

A preliminary review of the literature, which relates to this thesis topic, indicates that there is nothing on record which deals specifically with the use of the military to further nation building in Trinidad and Tobago. There are, however, numerous works which relate indirectly to the topic in terms of military assets in other nations used to assist in the development of those nations. There is also literature dealing with the use of the military forces of foreign nations to assist in nation building in other nations, in conjunction with their military forces.

Additionally, current literature also examines other avenues of nation building, including the use of financial resources from developed countries and technical assistance geared towards ensuring that nations are able to survive in the long term. Further, the use of military forces in nation building activities must be viewed in the context of existing civil-military relationships. Knowledge of the relationship between the military and civilian sectors helps in appreciating of the role of the military in development.

Civil- Military Relations

The subject of the role of the military in nation building brings together two forces: the military force, which is shaped by the society and the ruling political administration; and the political force, which desires to employ the military to meet its goals. Often military involvement in society has been discussed in terms of civilian control of the military, that is, the pattern of civil-military relations. According to Samuel Huntington, civilian control presumes minimizing military power which can be approached in two ways, subjective civilian control or objective civilian control.¹

Subjective civilian control can be attained by maximizing civilian power in relation to the military. Specifically, it refers to maximizing the civilian power of some particular civilian group or groups. "The large number, varied character, and conflicting interests of civilian groups make it impossible to maximize their power as a whole with respect to the military."² Therefore, civilian control is related to the special interests of one or more civilian groups. Parliament can maximize civilian control of the military through legislation. Since parliamentarians represent the citizenry, civilian control through them is, by extension, civilian control by the people.

Subjective civilian control can also be exercised through social classes.³ In Malaysia, for example, the majority of the armed forces and the population are Malays, whose interests coincide. It becomes easy for the civilian Malays to exercise civilian control of the armed forces through its membership dominance in the armed forces. Huntington also identifies civilian control with the constitutional form of government. He notes the claim that only a specific type of government, usually democratic, can insure civilian control.

Objective control of the military is viewed as being attainable through maximizing military professionalism. The heart of objective civilian control is the recognition of autonomous military professionalism. Objective civilian control is achieved by making the military politically sterile and neutral through professionalism. Militarizing the military makes them the tool of the state. Again, Huntington notes that a "highly professional officer corps stands ready to carry out the wishes of any civilian group which secures legitimate authority within the state."⁴

Another dimension of civil-military relations is the relationship between the military ethic and the prevailing political ideology. Liberalism, for example, is essentially individualistic, emphasizing reason and moral dignity of the individual. It contrasts with the military ethic which holds that man is evil, weak, and irrational and must be

subordinated to the group.⁵ Fascism and the military ethic are similar in some respects, but have one basic difference. What the soldier accepts as facts of life, the fascist glorifies as supreme values of existence. As an example, the soldier accepts war while fascist thinking romanticizes war and violence.

Marxism and the military agree on certain issues like the importance of power and groups in society. They disagree, however, on the type of power and group. To the Marxist, economic power and class grouping are more important while the military man holds to the power of the gun and the nation as the important elements.

Conservatism, according to Huntington, is basically similar to the military ethic. They hold similar views of man, society and history. They recognize the role of power in human relations, accept existing institutions, and distrust grand designs.⁶ Whereas there is inherent conflict between the military ethic and liberalism, fascism, and Marxism, there is similarity between it and conservatism, which, according to John J. Johnson, should allow smoother civil-military relations.

Johnson identifies five types of civil-military relations arising from the interaction of power, professionalism and ideology. First is the relation in which there is an antimilitary ideology, high military political power, and low military professionalism. This

type is prevalent in countries where professionalism has been held back, or, in more advanced countries, where there is a sudden increase in security threats and the military rapidly increases its political power. Second is the relationship in which there is an antimilitary ideology, low military political power, and low military professionalism. This type is normally found in totalitarian states.

Third is one of antimilitary ideology, low military political power, and high military professionalism. Nations which feel themselves secure from threats are likely to have this type of relationship. The fourth typology of civil-military relations consists of a promilitary ideology, high military political power, and high military professionalism. Prussia of 1860-1890 is a historical example of this. The fifth class of civil-military relations involve a promilitary ideology, low military political power, and high military professionalism. The present day United Kingdom is an example of this type.⁷

The civil-military relationship between the military and the government, in large measure, influences the actions of the military. It may act against the wishes of the government or refuse to act when called upon by the government. Professionalism generally inhibits the military from intervention.

For S. E. Finer, professionalism alone is not enough. The armed forces must also believe in the principle

of civil supremacy.⁸ Professionalism itself, he points out in his book "The Man on Horseback," may thrust the military into collision with the civil authority and thus lead to intervention. The military's consciousness of itself as a profession may lead it to regard itself as servants of the state rather than of the government in power. When there appears to be conflict between the interests of the state and the government, military intervention against the government is likely.

Professionalism according to Finer also causes military men to see themselves as specialists. They believe that they alone are competent to make decisions concerning the armed forces. Any encroachment by the civil authority upon this arena is likely to be resisted. Professionalism may also cause the military to object to being used against the government's domestic opponents. The military's enemy is foreign, not local. It is a fighting force not a police body.⁹ It is only when the armed forces unequivocally accept civilian control, at all times, could there be guarantees that it will always act as required by the government.

There are three other factors which serve as restraints on military intervention. Lack of unity among members could compromise the fighting quality of the armed forces. This is especially relevant where the basis of the disunity is political.¹⁰ Fear of intervention leading to

civil war also exercises great influence on military decisions regarding intervention. Soldiers are never keen on firing on their comrades¹¹ nor other citizens. Finally, the fear that an intervention may be unsuccessful and that the armed forces may be prosecuted subsequently, is another factor militating against intervention.¹²

Another model of civil-military relations comes from Lucian Pye.¹³ He describes the civil-military relationship in terms of the circumstances of historic development, and he outlines three categories. The first is the category in which the military stands out as the only effective entity. This occurs when the traditional political system collapses and there is an immediate need to set up representative political institutions. He cites modern China, from the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 to the victory of the Communists, as an example of this pattern of development.

A second category is one in which the military finds itself in a political monopoly. The military assumes complete control of the political machinery thereby forcing the civilian sector to concentrate on socio-economic functions. This is similar to the Belgian brand of colonialism and also the form of rule in Thailand in the 1960s. The third category identified by Pye is where there is a sense of failure in the country and the military is viewed as the likely savior. The features essential to democratic government are present but have been unable to

operate successfully. In these circumstances, the military, as a modern efficient body, assumes an administrative role and takes over the country.

Morris Janowitz offers another model for analyzing the role of the military in political development.¹⁴ He identifies five types of civil-military relations: (1) authoritarian-personal control, (2) authoritarian-mass party, (3) democratic competitive and semi-competitive systems, (4) civil-military coalition, and (5) military oligarchy.

The authoritarian-personal type of civil military control is found in countries just beginning to modernize. The military is only a symbol of sovereignty and is excluded from the domestic political arena by authoritarian civilian political power. Examples of this relationship were found in Ghana, Mali, and Guinea in the 1970s.

The authoritarian-mass party control exists in states where the civilian and paramilitary units act as counterweights to the military. The military has a limited function because it is small and not yet fully developed. Former French West African states, where the Africanisation of the officer corps was not yet completed, were good examples of this situation.

The democratic-competitive type of control can be found in countries like India and Malaysia. Here the functions of the military are limited by strong competitive

democratic institutions and the tradition of civil supremacy. In the semi-competitive systems, a mass political party dominates the political system but it allows some bit of political competition. This competition usually comes from competing civilian bodies and interest groups.

In countries where the civil group remains in power because of the military's passive assent or active assistance, a civil-military coalition is deemed to exist. Here the military increases its political activity and emerges as a power bloc supporting civilian groups. Indonesia is cited by Janowitz as an example of this type of relationship. A variation of this theme is where the military acts as an umpire between opposing political groups as in pre-1980 Turkey.

Civil-military coalitions are unstable and often result in the fifth type of civil-military relationship called the military oligarchy. In a military oligarchy, the military actually assumes control and becomes the ruler. Political activity by civilian groups is transformed, inhibited, and repressed.

When nations seek to employ military forces in nation building, they do so for reasons of development, either social, political, or economic. However, there are certain problems which could arise when governments choose to employ military forces in nation building. These problems or disadvantages could occur on two levels, first

when military nation building takes place under civilian control and second, when military nation building leads to a military take-over of government.

Under civilian-controlled military nation building, as the military enters certain sectors of the economy, such as the industrial sector, it could adversely affect private enterprises in those sectors. By its presence, the military would be competing with private business in these sectors. This could cause private businesses to become less successful due to military competition. Private firms may be forced to lay-off workers in order to remain solvent or they may be forced to close down operations completely. This, therefore, could cause labor unrest and ultimately, social decline.

A program of military nation building necessarily involves some increase in military expenditure for purchase and maintenance of equipment, managerial and administrative costs, or to start up operations. Such expenditure increase is often made possible by cutting back on other areas of expenditure. This could result in social programs, which would have otherwise been implemented, being eliminated, thereby causing a reduced level of social services to be available to the society. In addition, military nation building could cause the skill levels of military personnel to be improved at the expense of civilians, especially when it involves diversion of funds or reduced civilian

employment. This could have a long-term effect on the society, which could eventually have civilian citizens who are unemployable because of the absence of adequate training/skills.

A large scale program of military nation building could also have the disadvantage of militarizing the society and causing the civilian population to depend on the military for solutions to its problems. By being involved in the social and economic sectors of the country, by displacing civilians from their jobs, the military could unwittingly create a cult of dependence on themselves, by the citizens, for the shaping of the society. In a country with a democratic government this situation is considered undesirable for it can, according to Felipe Aguero, lead the military to strengthen its capacity to assert a larger role in society.¹⁵ Assumption by the military of larger roles in the society often leads to it becoming so politicized that it eventually gains political power and takes over the government of the country. On this level, further disadvantages to military nation building can be manifested.

Military officers are generally not trained to govern countries and any attempt to do so can be disastrous. Lack of expertise in government could result in bad decisions being made by military government leaders. Over time, one could expect the public to react unfavorably to such bad decisions by staging protest marches or acts of

civil disobedience. In most military-led countries, such actions are met with repressive measures by the government, often in the form of human rights restrictions. This is a definite disadvantage since it further erodes the democratic process.

As repression of human rights grows, the political culture of the society is destroyed, forcing citizens to seek alternative avenues to register their dissatisfaction with government policies. As military governments deny such alternative avenues to the citizens, the society becomes more disaffected and turns to violence. Throughout history, there are many examples of this pattern of military repression of civilians. As the authoritarian rule of the military becomes more entrenched, political opponents plot to remove the military, usually by violent means. Sometimes, military leaders, who become the personification of the government, begin to rely increasingly on the use of repressive agencies, alien to the military establishment, to carry out their programs of eliminating opposition to them.¹⁶ This leads to antagonism between the military and these alien repressive agencies and exacerbates tensions in the society. During the rule of General Perez Jimenez in Venezuela, the chief source of his loss of military support was his personalistic style and repressive conduct.¹⁷

If there is no attempt by military governments to return to democracy and civilian rule, the instability of

the society grows and can lead to a total breakdown of law and order. Therefore the major disadvantage to any military nation building endeavor is, that it could lead to the military becoming so politicized and dominant in the society, that it takes over the reins of government. Some social scientists have supported the view that the military ought to participate in the areas of security and development. Others have opposed this by maintaining that "the participation of the security apparatus of the state in the so-called development tasks runs counter to the healthy norms of institutional specialization."¹⁸ Yet again, persons who hold leftist views, sometimes support calls for the full-fledged participation of the military in all aspects of national life and for the extension of political rights to all members of the armed forces.¹⁹

Because, as noted by Pye, civil-military relationships are conditioned by events in history, they tend to change over time and vary among countries. Many of the examples cited by authors²⁰ in their work on this topic are not applicable today for diverse reasons, not the least of which is changing historical development. Nevertheless, the models remain relevant in any study of military role in society.

Nation Building and the Armed Forces

Morris Janowitz's book, "The Military in the Political Development of Nations," deals with the extent to which the military in new nations can actually and potentially affect change. He discusses the social structure and organization of the military, the social and economic functions of the military, and the mechanics of the military's intervention in politics. Janowitz begins his analysis by examining the historical and economic factors which shaped military establishments in South and Southeast Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Apart from Thailand, the military establishments in South and Southeast Asia were either eliminated, transformed or replaced by the metropolitan powers.²¹ Colonial rule depended on military force. It did not lead to military intervention in politics, except for some areas of Japanese occupation, where it occurred for short periods. The nations of South and Southeast Asia had, therefore, a history of colonial rule and not of military rule.²²

The political heritage of the Ottoman Empire as well as indigenous Ottoman tradition involved political intervention and rule by military. This was the inheritance of the nations of the Middle East and North Africa. Janowitz notes that the influence of colonial rule was weaker here than in South and Southeast Asia.²³ There was

no rapid transformation of the military, neither did modernization and professionalization eliminate the influence of older officers. By the time these nations were liberated, military involvement in politics was a tradition and the norm rather than an exception.²⁴

In Sub-Sahara Africa the development of the military was different. The colonial governments had destroyed local military institutions and eliminated military influence. They ruled with small armed forces, never seeking to mobilize any significant military force, except for certain short periods during the First and Second World War. The result was that by the time of independence, these nations had to create new military institutions and traditions.²⁵

John J. Johnson notes that in Latin America, for over one hundred and fifty years, the involvement of the military in politics has been a fact of life.²⁶ The countries of Latin America experienced the violence of the Spanish culture but their armies never sought to influence political direction so long as they served the Spanish King. The wars for independence changed this. The early rulers of Latin America were warriors who sought victories in the name of the Spanish Regent, using force, slaughter, and terror to rule the weak and timid.²⁷ After winning independence, making political decisions was a new experience for the military. Civil officials called on it to stabilize their regimes. This led to militarism which Johnson defines as

the domination of the military man over the civilian.²⁸ Today, in Latin America, militarism is a cultural residue of the wars of independence and the subsequent civil disorders. Johnson notes that militarism was less prominent in the more advanced countries like Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay than in less developed ones like Paraguay, Nicaragua, and Ecuador.²⁹

Morris Janowitz links the contemporary political role of the military to the historical trends observed in these regions and so does Johnson. Janowitz noted that the greatest political involvement of the military occurred in the Middle East and North Africa. In this region, his study revealed, the military was the ruling political group in four countries and was actively involved in civil-military coalitions in six countries.³⁰ In the region of South and Southeast Asia, four armies had assumed larger political roles while eight had limited roles in government. He viewed the non-partisan role of the military forces in Sub-Saharan Africa as a function of limited resources, lack of modernization and the young age of the nations.³¹ At the time of completion, Johnson's study noted that civilian rulers were in control in Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Uruguay, with Venezuela showing a strong tendency towards this goal. In all other Latin American countries, the military ruled.³²

Janowitz attempts to use another model to explain the role of the military in the political development of new nations. He classifies them according to the natural history or origin of the military. Four types can be identified. They are non-colonial armed forces, ex-colonial armed forces, post-liberation armed forces, and armed forces established during the struggle for independence.

The non-colonial forces are found in countries which were never colonized by imperial powers or never experienced indirect rule. In these countries, the armies were the result of deliberate, well organized modifications to the traditional institution. The armed forces of Thailand, Turkey, and Ethiopia fall into this group. Liberia and Afghanistan are variants of this group.³³ Janowitz attributes the existence of the other three groups to the different policies pursued by the colonial powers in their colonies. The ex-colonial armies are the result of British policy geared to the creation of institutions which would lead to some political independence within the imperial system. The British trained local officers , gradually developing an indigenous officer class, so that by the time of independence, these armies had a cadre of well-trained native officers.³⁴ Armies of this type are found in South and Southeast Asia and to a lesser extent in North Africa. The French policy, on the other hand, was meant to assimilate its colonies into the political sphere of France.

Therefore, there was less concern for the development of an indigenous officer class in countries where France exercised direct rule.³⁵ Janowitz notes that no attempt at such development was made by the Dutch, Spanish, Belgians, and Portuguese in their colonies since colonial rule was meant to continue indefinitely there. He further identifies a variation of ex-colonial armies in those French and British colonies where indirect rule was exercised. Iraq and Syria are examples of this. Here the level of professionalism was relatively low and the officer corps became involved in politics. This was the result of the colonial rulers not rebuilding the armies, but rather altering them.³⁶

In Sub-Sahara Africa, colonial rule did not allow the development of a native officer corps until just before independence. These are the post-liberation armies. In British colonies of this area, steps were taken to develop nation-state institutions at the time independence was granted. These included a native armed force. In the French colonies, military alliances were formed with France, as a result, French officers still played a vital role and Africanisation of the military proceeded very slowly.³⁷

Armies established during the struggle for independence include the armies of Indonesia, Burma, and Algeria. These armies have maintained or expanded their political roles, exercising great influence as a political bloc or forming the ruling political group.³⁸ Janowitz

accepts that this classification does not fully explain the political roles of the military in new nations. Post-liberation armies were too young to be used for empirical evidence, while ex-colonial armies were divided. Some of them have remained under civilian control as marks of sovereignty while others, like in Pakistan and Sudan, have intervened in domestic politics.³⁹

Janowitz also develops a relationship between the length of time since independence and the political roles of the military. Of the nine countries where the military ruled, only one was independent for less than ten years. Of the five countries where the military has expanded its role to become a partner in the political process, only one has been independent for less than ten years. In the countries where the military was limited to the ceremonial role of showing sovereign status, he was unable to identify any relationship between role and time since independence.⁴⁰ He concludes this model by stating that the possibility of military involvement in politics increases with time and that reducing the political role of the military is still a very problematic issue. The model shows an apparent but not explanatory relationship between political role and time since independence.⁴¹

Janowitz also advances demography and economic development as other bases for grouping new nations and their military. He notes that some comparative political

scientists have pointed to a positive correlation between economic development and the political role of the armed forces in new nations. S. M. Lipset and James Coleman tested the positive correlation hypothesis and found that it was valid. Coleman also found that the positive relationship was greater when analysis was done by country groupings than with individual countries.⁴²

Using his five classes of civil-military relations, Janowitz concludes that there is no support for the claim that there is a positive relationship between economic development and competitiveness of political systems.⁴³ His research found the inverse relationship to be more prominent. Factors such as natural history of origin, time since independence, and level of economic development provide only a partial explanation of the political role of the military in new nations.⁴⁴

In the book, "The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries," edited by John J. Johnson, the role of the armed forces in the transformation process in underdeveloped countries, is examined. In this book, Edward Shils strikes a chord similar to Janowitz and Johnson when he states that the predominance of the military in Asian and African nations could be attributed to the weakness of the political institutions therein.⁴⁵ In their drive towards modernity, nations use their resources available in social structure, cultural tradition, and human talents. Military

officers, he notes, form part of this spectrum especially in terms of technical and administrative skills. Whenever state officials perform inefficiently, officers feel duty bound to intervene and rectify matters, which, through their training, they have little doubt they could do.⁴⁶ This type of military officer contrasts sharply with those found in Latin America and the Balkans, who, according to Lucian Pye, typify administrative incompetence, inaction, and authoritarian values when they become involved in politics.⁴⁷

In underdeveloped countries, Pye points out that the military is a modern organization, capable of acting as a modernizing agent. Armies have provided technical training and direct services in the industrial development process in Western nations.⁴⁸ The German Army provided noncommissioned officers for services as foremen in the German steel mills. The U.S. Corps of Engineers had a key role in the development of the West. Civil War veterans combined their knowledge and skill with immigrant labor to provide the basis for much of U.S. industrial development.⁴⁹ Pye notes the same situation in Asia and Latin America. In Malaya and the Philippines, the army was the main group used to provide operators and maintenance technicians for motor vehicles and other machinery. Army veterans in India have done low-level industrial jobs as well as occupy managerial positions in industry. Mandatory training in the Japanese Army, before

the Second World War, provided Japan with trained manpower reserves which contributed directly to the development of an industrial society there. In Brazil, Pye states, the army played a major role in opening up the interior, in promoting the natural sciences and in protecting the Indian population.⁵⁰

To accentuate its status as a modernizing agent, the military stands as a truly national symbol. This is so because it recruits its members from all parts of the country and therefore belongs to no particular sector of the society.⁵¹ The daily routine of army life, (training, guard duty), ensures that the army does not occupy itself with promoting nationalistic sentiments. The result is that the sense of nationalism is moderate. Its preoccupation with technical matters, its military pursuits, and its organization curtails the passion of the armed forces, which would otherwise overflow onto national symbols.⁵² These features make the military into a nation building institution. It can integrate different ethnic groups into a national community; it can impart knowledge and skills useful for economic development; it can prevent young men from becoming nationalist fanatics while teaching them to be concerned for the nation as a whole.⁵³ Pye too emphasizes this capacity of the military to provide citizenship training, which, he says, can lead to more responsible nationalism.⁵⁴ Johnson, speaking of Latin American armies,

notes that nationalistic sentiments run as high there as in the middle sector of society. In Brazil, the Armed Forces is the vanguard of the nationalist movement.⁵⁵

In Latin America, the concept of "poder moderador" has been used to explain part of the interventionist tendencies of the military. Poder moderador is the perceived legitimate duty of the armed forces to preserve internal order. Some armed forces use it to intervene against persons who threatened the status quo. Others, with militarist leanings, use it to promote their political ambitions, while idealistic officers exercise it to discharge their sacred duty of promoting social justice.⁵⁶

Edwin Lieuwin explains Latin American military intervention in politics as arising by default when the army becomes the only organized and disciplined force available for administering the affairs of the nation.⁵⁷ The army coup in Colombia in 1953, which took place as a result of a stalemate in the battle for political power among competing civilian groups, is an example of this. He also points out that armies in Latin America become involved in politics when armed extremist civilian groups threaten the state by force of arms. As an example, the army in Chile and Mexico were forced to act against the White Guard and Red Militia, and the Gold Shirts and labor militia respectively.⁵⁸ It is worth noting that the armed forces, whenever they assumed power and regardless of actual motivation, always seek to

convince the public and world society that they were forced to intervene because of the failure of the civilian government. They maintain that they have come to power with only the best and purest of intentions, and did so only when the grave national circumstances made such intervention absolutely necessary.⁵⁹

Some writers see military nation building as a worthwhile pursuit even when done by foreign military forces.⁶⁰ Looking specifically at the U.S. Armed Forces, this group of writers see the military's engineers in the forefront of nation building activities geared to promoting peace and stability in less developed nations. Lundberg and Martin see nation building as an instrument of United States foreign policy which can be used in areas where the United States have interests.⁶¹ J. M. Gray recommends nation building programs as an aspect of "operations other than war," for the U.S. Armed Forces. In the pursuit of its new evolving roles, he suggests that the U.S. military can address developmental problems in Africa, Eastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Caribbean, and the Americas through nation building initiatives.⁶²

D. A. Osterberg and J. L. Petersen emphasize the humanitarian role which the U.S. Armed Forces could play through disaster relief operations. The U.S. military possesses the planning, distribution, and execution capability required to handle the many developmental

problems which less developed nations face. Like Lundberg and Martin, they believe that humanitarian assistance, to needy nations, in the form of providing food, shelter, and clothing, as well as medical and engineering support are important to U.S. interests. They view the discharge of this role as significant in the enhancement of regional stability, balance, and security.⁶³

Case Studies

In his master's thesis, "Armed Forces and National Development in the Case of the Republic of Indonesia", K. R. Sukirno, seeks to contribute towards a better understanding of the role of the armed forces and their contribution to national development. He notes that in many of the newly independent countries, the military plays a vital role. This role ranges from the re-shaping of the political order to the imparting of administrative and technical skills to the civilian sector. In his introduction, he asserts that it was the intervention of the armed forces and its seizure of power in 1958, which saved Burma from collapse. He notes that there was subsequently a marked improvement in public administration. The author states that in Taiwan, continuing from 1950, the already favorable opinion which the Taiwanese people had of their military, was enhanced by military civic action programs in agriculture and disaster relief operations.

Sukirno examines the input of the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) towards national development by outlining the birth of the ABRI and the factors which led to their being an integral, indispensable and well respected element in Indonesian society. Based on the Indonesian concept of Dual Function, the armed forces have been declared by the Indonesian people as one of the basic assets of national development. Under this Dual Function concept, the ABRI discharge a civic mission with emphasis on the rural areas. Their tasks include but are not restricted to:

1. Improvement to or construction of village roads, bridges, irrigation projects, water systems, community halls, and schools.⁶⁴
2. Augmenting the health services of the isolated islands.⁶⁵
3. Transportation of development related equipment.⁶⁶
4. Enhancement of telecommunications on isolated islands for purposes of educational advancement.⁶⁷
5. Transportation of transmigrants.⁶⁸

Sukirno noted that rural areas were targeted for assistance by the ABRI because 82 percent of the population live there and because successful rural development will guarantee total national development as well as stability. Through these actions, Sukirno lists the gains to Indonesia in the areas of agriculture, family welfare, the environment, public utilities, and transmigration as being.

significant. In summary, one sees a powerful and influential military force successfully engaging in nation building activities without any appreciable ill effects in Indonesia.

In the thesis, "U.S. Military Nation-Building Peru: A Question of National Interests," L. V. Flor contends that the United States nation building exercises in Peru are desirable because they promote Peru's national interests in such ways as, "assisting in its economic development, helping counter-insurgency and counter-narcotics efforts, and bettering life in rural Peru."⁶⁹ The nation building exercises examined are those carried out by United States engineers. In spite of the attendant risks such as the possibility of "attacks against United States troops, competition with the private sector, and increased perceived relative deprivation,"⁷⁰ the thesis concludes that the United States military nation building exercises are feasible because the risks involved can be mitigated through judicious planning, use of a multi-year program, and an integrated country-team approach.⁷¹

S. G. Lee, in the thesis, "Armed Forces and National Development in the case of Korea," recognizes the expanded role that the Korean military has had to play in the society. He asserts that its influence, responsibility and expertise have also increased. The role and contribution of the military have been extensive for nation building,

national security, and economic and social development. All of this take place amidst a background of a communication gap between the military and the rest of society. To enhance its image and to make the population more aware of what the military does to support and build the nation, the conclusion is drawn that the military must embark upon an active public relations campaign.

In "The Military and Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil," Alfred Stepan concludes that the military regime failed to measure up to the requirements of social development, due to its weak organization and divided leadership. George-Andre Fietcher's "Brazil since 1964: Modernization Under a Military Regime," concludes that the military regime accomplished a considerable task of increasing the social and economic welfare of the society. He further concludes that a civilian regime would have been unable to do likewise over the same eight year time period. Whereas Fietcher highlights the inherent capabilities of the military in Brazil as being contributory factors to its success, Stepan finds that the qualities of stability and unity are only illusory.

An examination of the growth and stability of Venezuela from 1959, is made by John D. Martz and David J. Myers in "Venezuela: The Democratic Experiment." It focuses on the role and functions of various sectors of the society, including the armed forces, in development.

F. S. Bautista, in his thesis, "Toward A Theory of Military Involvement in National Development in Underdeveloped Countries," examines the proposition that the military in underdeveloped or developing countries offer significant advantages when they are given a role in development. Based on the evidence, he concludes that in underdeveloped countries, the political role of the military becomes dominant and leads it to assume political power. However, the evidence also suggests that the armed forces have been supporting civilian governments by discharging non-political tasks which enhance human welfare and national development.

Bard O'Neill, in his article "Revolutionary War in Oman," gives credit to the Sultan Quabos for stopping an insurgency, being carried out by the inhabitants of the Dhofar Province. Sultan Quabos ended the insurgency by instituting a civil development program geared specifically to alleviating their problems. From the 1950s to the 1970s, a rebellion, which had the interior areas of the Sultanate as its focus, started and grew. The citizens of these regions were being led by a Marxist-Leninist group, which was seeking to replace the governing system.

The rebellion was being handled by the government through military force but was having little effect. On July 23, 1970, the then Sultan was overthrown by his son, Quabos, who immediately took action to reduce the support of

the insurgents. He began to develop the interior of the country. His civic action teams drilled water wells, built schools, expanded health care, provided technical assistance for animal husbandry, strengthened local administration, and operated government centers. These activities undermined the insurgents and started a flood of defectors from their ranks. The military campaign continued side by side with the civic action program. By 1975, the Sultan, moved by his military and civic action successes, declared that the rebellion was over. In this instance, nation building type activities was used successfully to quell a rebellion and develop a region.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The work done in this thesis was accomplished through a series of tasks based on different research techniques and methods. This section explains the methods used to collect and analyze information/data for the completion of this study. The basic framework was to establish the status of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago in terms of economy, society, and politics. This was followed by four steps.

First, a further literature search was done to determine the existing pattern of use of the military for nation building ends. Second, a survey of the international officers currently attending the CGSC was executed. The purpose of this survey was to get the views of these officers on the use of their armed forces for nation building in their countries. It sought to obtain factual information about this topic as it related to their country. The resulting data was compared with the information revealed by the literature searches. Third, case studies of five countries were performed. Fourth, interviews were conducted with officers from these countries to either

validate or refute the results of the case studies. Members of the faculty and staff of the Command and General Staff College(CGSC) were also interviewed. This provided additional information source for this thesis. Since nation building also encompasses a human development element, I conducted interviews to determine the effect of the Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps program its participants. This was done to confirm whether a similar program could have a positive effect in Trinidad and Tobago.

Finally, based on the total evaluation of the success/failure of the military in nation building in these countries, together with the evaluation of the research done on secondary sources, an assessment was made of the likely effects of using the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force in nation building in Trinidad and Tobago. Success or failure was gauged through the results of productive activity such as road building. In other areas, success/failure was evaluated by the likelihood of the activity to promote nation building. In a democratic environment, activities such as research and development, blood donation, disaster relief operations, rural development, environment protection, youth training, and providing leadership by example are considered as complementary to nation building. On the other hand, leading governments, economic and constitutional reform, exercising moderating power, and managing industries are inappropriate military activities in

a democracy. As the starting point of this research, it is to be noted that Trinidad and Tobago is a democratic republic among the less developed countries of the world. It is a multi-racial, multi-religious society. This thesis therefore, focuses on comparative analysis "even though comparison at the nation-state level is an elusive task."¹

The literature has revealed that there has been little research done on the possibility/feasibility of using the armed forces of a nation to pursue nation building activities in that nation. Osterberg's monograph, "Nation Development Unit: An Army Responsibility?", a theoretical proposal, comes closest to addressing this topic so far. However, there was little research done to support the conclusions arrived at in terms of military roles and the results envisioned. His work was essentially an analysis of the capabilities of a proposed nation development unit and the likely outcomes of the use of such a unit in nation building.

Other readings dealt with the use of U.S. military forces to promote nation building in a number of countries including Saudi Arabia, Dominican Republic, and Peru, analyzing the experience in each case. During my research, I was directed to the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps(CCC) in the United States during the 1930s. This was during the Great Depression when unemployment was high and Americans were finding it

difficult to maintain an acceptable standard of living. The CCC was established to assist in reversing the economic decline. In accepting a similarity between this situation in the 1930s and the position of most less developed countries today, I examined the CCC with a view to determining the suitability of such a program to Trinidad and Tobago.

Janowitz's statement that "Students of new nations have emphasized economic development, social structure, and political institutions, during a period in which the military has emerged more and more as a crucial institution and power bloc,"² is still relevant. There is not a lot of documented research on this topic available. This makes my thesis even more significant from the contributory aspect.

Survey

The questionnaire was specially developed for this study. (See appendixes A, B, and C). The information sought in this part was the specific area or areas of nation building in which the armed forces have been employed; the degree of involvement of the armed forces in these areas; the period of armed forces involvement in nation building projects; and the country's form of government. The questions also sought subjective responses to questions concerning the status of the armed forces, as well as other key professions in the country, and the reaction of the society to military nation building.

Case studies

I would have liked to study countries which were similar to Trinidad and Tobago in terms of its economy, society, and form of government/existing civil-military relationship. I also wished to maintain randomness in the selection process by not deliberately choosing countries which would influence the outcome of the research beforehand.

The countries which were similar to Trinidad and Tobago were generally found in the English-speaking Caribbean. I considered this area to be too narrow a base for meaningful investigation. Also a preliminary review of the literature revealed that there was little documentation of the use of Caribbean military forces in nation building. The countries in question are Barbados, Guyana, the Bahamas, Bermuda, Jamaica, and Belize.

The selection of the five countries for study was based on their satisfying one overriding criterion specific to Trinidad and Tobago. That criterion was the level of development. According to the criteria in "The World Factbook 1993-94," Trinidad and Tobago falls within the group of countries referred to as the less developed countries, with a per capita gross domestic product of \$3,379.³ Although this publication lists all the countries with a per capita gross domestic product of less than \$5,000 in the group of less developed countries, in order to make

the research more meaningful, I selected countries whose per capita gross domestic product fell within the \$2,000 - \$5,000 range. To further substantiate the validity of this listing, a comparison with the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) indicators of these countries was made. The GDP per capita can be misleading for purposes of comparison between countries at times. It gives an indication of relative wealth but that wealth is not always reflected in the living standards.⁴ Therefore "the overall figure for GDP per head can mask the gulf between the wealth of an elite and the poverty of the majority."⁵ The PPP is an estimate of GDP per capita adjusted for the cost of living and is compared to the U.S. living costs, so that the U.S. PPP = 100.⁶ This statistic was developed by the United Nations (UN), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the European Commission, using the United States as the base, since it was felt that the standard of living in the United States was the highest.

The selection of the economy as the main criterion to be met was based on certain considerations. The level of development of the economy is important because sometimes the decision to use the military in nation building, is influenced by the fact that the economy cannot sustain the required rate of growth, or because the financial resources to provide for development are not available. In these

circumstances, governments resort to the military which has trained labor and high technology equipment available.

Though not critical to the study, notice was taken of the likely difficulty in implementing a program of military nation building in a multi-cultural society vis a vis a homogenous one. In a homogenous society, the reaction to the use of the military in nation building is likely to be much different from that which might be had in a society with various cultures. This is so because in a multi-cultural society, there are often diverse interests being pursued. These competing interests generally make it difficult for the government to implement policy without displeasing a sector of the society. In a multi-cultural society, the use of the military for nation building purposes is likely to be such a policy.

Notice was also taken of the differing levels of influence the military has, depending on the existing civil-military relationship. The influence of the military is far greater in those countries where the military had assumed political power in the past.

A excess of information on the level of development criterion was available from publications such as the United Nations Statistical Yearbook, The New York Times Encyclopedia Almanac, The World Factbook, The Statesman's Yearbook, and The Economist Book of Vital World Statistics.

Honduras, Jordan, Malaysia, Turkey, and Venezuela were selected for initial investigation. However, preliminary research showed that they did not all meet the criteria. A second selection was made and the result is listed below with their applicable economic data, as well as that for Trinidad and Tobago.

<u>Country</u>	<u>GDP/capita</u>	<u>PPP</u>
Argentina	2,759	26.4
Brazil	2,451	24.5
Malaysia	2,045	21.9
Republic of Korea	4,081	24.3
Venezuela	3,400	24.4
Trinidad and Tobago	3,379	20.8

Statistics were taken from "The Economist Book of Vital World Statistics -- 1990 Edition," and apply to the year 1988. This year is deemed appropriate because it allows backward and forward comparison of data over a ten-year span. Further study revealed that these countries generally met the required criteria.

The utility of these selected countries, for this thesis, varies. They are all of the same level of economic development as Trinidad and Tobago, in terms of GDP per capita and PPP, and like Trinidad and Tobago, Brazil, Malaysia and Venezuela are multi-ethnic. In the arena of civil-military relations, Malaysia exhibits a similar

historical pattern to Trinidad and Tobago. They both have the British tradition of civil control of the military. This differs from the other countries. The Republic of Korea had, until very recently, a historical pattern of military dominance of politics. In Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela, the Hispanic tradition of a politicized military is found. This contrast was useful in appreciating the differences in military involvement in nation building as well as the outcomes. Though all the countries studied are today classified as democracies with civilian supremacy over the military, only Malaysia can be considered a stable democracy.

The analysis of these countries in terms of their use of their armed forces in nation building was done through two principal means. First, a search of the literature relevant to the issue was made and analyzed. I concentrated on the employment of the military in the fields of engineering, health services, education, physical training, and agriculture. However, other areas deemed significant to this topic were unearthed during the research and have been included. Second, I interviewed officers from the five countries selected for study. The interviews provided backup information for my research findings, as well as updated facts as they appeared in the literature. These interviews took place between December 1993 and March

1994. The interviews focussed on expanding their responses given on the questionnaire for the international officers.

Interviews

Interviews with subject matter experts, who are on the staff at CGSC, were conducted. Their views added another dimension to my research and assisted me in better appreciating the responses to the questionnaire. Finally, because the development of the human resource is an integral part of nation building, and particularly because in Trinidad and Tobago, it is accepted that the future of the nation is "in the school bags of the children,"⁷ I arranged an interview with the Director of the JROTC program at Leavenworth High School. This program is geared towards the development of youth. I subsequently held interviews with Lieutenant Colonel Royal A. Brown III and SGM(Ret.) Calvin Foster to discuss the JROTC program. This was to determine the impact that this program has been having on the youth at the school with a view to its being recommended as part of any nation building policy decision in Trinidad and Tobago.

Before a comparison was made between these five countries and the case of Trinidad and Tobago, a number of subsidiary questions were answered. These questions dealt primarily with barriers to the use of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force in nation building, evaluation of any previous nation building efforts by the Force, and the possibility of its further use by the Government. Answers

to these questions came from the Headquarters of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force and an examination of the Laws of Trinidad and Tobago.

Other sources of information which were explored were the Embassies/High Commissions of Argentina, Brazil, South Korea and Venezuela, located in the U.S. Through the Trinidad and Tobago Embassy in Washington, DC, I made contact with Lieutenant Colonel Julio Mirgone, Secretary of the Argentine Military Delegation to the Inter-American Defense Board(IADB); Brigadier General Jose Flinio Monteiro, Chief of Brazilian Delegation to the IADB; Captain(Naval) Nelson Sanchez, Venezuelan Navy Delegate to the IADB and General Han, Republic of Korea's Defence Attache. (I was unsuccessful in contacting the Malaysian Defence Attache.) I also spoke to the Brazilian Liaison Officer at the CGSC, Colonel Gilson Lopes, who provided an indepth analysis of the post-1985 Brazilian military. These sources provided good back-up information for my thesis and in some cases expanded on it. In addition I attempted to access information from the Library of Congress and had limited success. Information from the Defense Technical Information Center was also researched. This was mainly theses written on certain aspects of nation building by students at the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania and the Naval Postgraduate School at Monterey, California. The

international data bases at multi-national corporations such as RAND Corporation, where country studies have been done, proved inaccessible to me.

There are certain limitations in this research design which must be pointed out. The number of countries selected, five, makes the sample size very small in terms of the number of countries which might have used or are using their armed forces to pursue nation building objectives. The time available did not, however, allow for a broader investigation. There is also the distinct possibility that there is military bias in the answers I received on the questionnaire and interviews. This I considered to be an acceptable risk. However, I think that any military bias was neutralized by the information collected during the literature research, especially the writings of civilian authors. The difficulty in obtaining empirical evidence showing a correlation between military nation building activities and the level of development, I consider to be a drawback to the research process though not fatal. Except in the case of the Republic of Korea, I was unable to obtain any information on the cost, duration or specific evidence to evaluate the impact of military nation building activities.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDIES

Argentina

Argentina's colonization began during the second half of the sixteenth century. Settlers from Peru entered Argentina from the northwest and founded the towns of Mendoza, San Luis, Tucuman, San Juan, and Cordoba.¹ At the same time, settlers from Spain occupied the Rio de la Plata estuary. Its native inhabitants were Indians. Their houses were made of stone piled on top of each other without mortar. The chief crop was maize. The Indian tribes engaged in hunting while others carried on pottery, agriculture, or fishing.²

This vast land covers 2,736,690 kilometers and has borders with Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay.³ In the north are the subtropical forests of the Chaco which give way to the rich, fertile, central plain called the Pampas. Towards the south, there is the flat to rolling plateau of Patagonia which has many sheep ranches. To the west of Argentina is the Cordillera of the Andes and to the east, the Atlantic Ocean. At its southern-most tip, the Andean mountain range breaks up into rocky bays and inlets.⁴

Its latitudinal stretch gives rise to various climates. Though it is mostly temperate, Argentina has a subtropical climate in the north, an arid climate towards the south-east, and a sub-antarctic climate in the south-west.⁵ Fifty-two percent of the land is pastures and meadows, 22 percent forest and woodland, 9 percent arable land, and 4 percent under permanent crops.⁶

Argentina's population of 32,901,234 inhabitants is highly literate, well-fed and almost uniformly of European ancestry. The native Indians have declined steadily and today number about 100,000. Mestizos make up the remainder of the population together with an insignificant number of blacks (5000).⁷ Ninety percent of the population are Roman Catholics, while Jews, Protestants, and other denominations account for the remaining 10 percent. Though English, Italian, German, and French are spoken, Spanish is the official language.⁸

Prior to 1776, Argentina was part of the viceroyalty of Peru, administered by the Viceroy of Peru, on behalf of the Spanish king. In 1776, Spain reorganized its empire. Argentina was removed from Peru's sphere of influence and a new viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata was formed. This comprised the land area of present day Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.⁹ After this, economic activity increased dramatically as the port of Buenos Aires became the economic center of the new viceroyalty.

War between Spain and England in 1796 and 1804 interrupted trade between Buenos Aires and Spain. Ships were left tied up at the wharves, unable to export. Farmers' produce went to waste. The people faced hard times. With knowledge of the French Revolution and the American Revolution, the Argentine elites began to plot emancipation from Spanish rule. On May 25, 1810, influenced by the Napoleon's invasion of Spain and their own rejection of Spanish domination, the Argentine people formed a new government led by local people.¹⁰ Formal independence from Spain was declared six years later on July 9, 1816. From then up to the mid-nineteenth century, there were conflicts between the inhabitants of the interior (Confederates) and those of Buenos Aires, mostly over control of the country and the kind of national government to be established.¹¹ Buenos Aires refused to submit.

In 1853, using the Constitution of the United States as a model, the Argentine Constitution was proclaimed. Disagreements between Buenos Aires and the Confederates continued. Consensus was finally reached in 1862. National elections were held and General Bartolome Mitre became the first constitutional president of a unified Argentine Republic.¹² The next seven decades were peaceful and economically stable for Argentina. Government institutions

were created. The judiciary was staffed with extremely competent people. Social reform included the rapid development of a middle class.¹³

The middle class comprised immigrants who took land, saved money, bought property and opened small shops. By the end of the nineteenth century, they were the most stable element in the society. They dominated commerce, industry, medicine, and small business.¹⁴ This middle class formed the base for the Radical Civic Union(UCR) which came to power following the elections of 1916. The UCR remained in power for 14 years. Some minor reforms were instituted but corruption began to plague the government. In 1930, the government was overthrown by the military. The chief causes were the economic depression, government corruption, and fear by the Conservatives that they were losing chances for a return to political power.¹⁵ Thus began a series of military interventions in Argentine politics which was to last up to the 1980s.

The social, economic, and political development which characterized the previous 70 years was replaced in the post-1930 era by political instability, economic stagnation, and social decline. Whatever gains came to the country were distributed for the benefit of the elite. People moved to the cities in droves seeking a better life. The government was unable to cater for this wave of migrants and civil unrest once more began. The military again

assumed control in 1943, deposing the government of the Conservatives.¹⁶ The impact of the military on the development of Argentina began to be felt. Power was centered in the hands of Colonel Juan Domingo Peron who dominated Argentine politics for the next 30 years.¹⁷ The military coup which overthrew President Yrigoyen in 1930 marked the rise of modern militarism in Argentina.

Argentina today is divided into 23 provinces and one district. The government consists of Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches. The Executive branch comprises the President, Vice-President and Cabinet. The Legislative branch features a bicameral National Congress comprising an upper chamber or Senate and a lower chamber or Chamber of Deputies. The Judiciary is headed by a Supreme Court. The President is Chief of State and Head of Government. Universal suffrage exists at age 18.¹⁸ Presidential elections are held every six years while elections for the Congress are held every two years. The three branches of government interact in an environment in which the Executive, specifically the President, control political power to an enormous degree.

Though the Congress and the Judiciary have some influence, both seek to avoid conflict with the President, who is considered omnipotent and all-responsible.¹⁹ There is a tendency for all political demands to be brought to the President. Interest groups such as farmers, cattle raisers,

students, or labor unions tend to back up their demands with threats. "Since the military is best equipped to threaten the president, many groups try to find a sector of the armed forces willing to articulate their demands."²⁰ Thus the military continues to play the role of a governmental partner and a wielder of veto power.²¹

Lacking in precious metals and rich in fertile land, Argentina's colonial economy was modest. It had neither the technology nor the market to exploit its fertile land. Up to 1776, its economic development depended on its trade, through Peru, in cotton, rice, wheat, and leather goods. This changed dramatically during the decades of stability. The 1880-1914 era saw Argentina as an exporter of agricultural goods to the countries of the north Atlantic. From the 1860s to 1914, Argentina's GDP grew at an average annual rate of 5 percent.²² This expansion was the result of using foreign equipment and capital, also its access to international markets. Thus in the 1930s during the Great Depression, Argentina's economy suffered a serious setback. From 1958 to 1962 President Frondizi made a concerted effort to accelerate economic development and appeared to be achieving some success. In 1962, he was deposed by the army.

Since then, the economy has encountered major problems as a result of mismanagement and statist policies. High inflation and recession was the outcome. Its external

debt has nearly doubled to \$58 billion since 1978. In 1991, its unemployment rate was 6.4 percent, inflation rate 83.8 percent and external debt \$61 billion. Its exports of wheat, meat, corn, oilseed, hides, and wool was valued at \$12 billion in 1991 while its imports of chemicals, metals, fuels, lubricants, agricultural products, machinery, and equipment was valued at \$8 billion.²³ Argentina is the fourth largest producer of wine in the world and its oil production meets the national requirement.

The armed forces of Argentina comprise an army, navy, air force, gendarmerie, coast guard, and an aeronautical police force. The foundations for a national armed force was laid during the presidency of Bartolome Mitre and successive presidents sought to professionalize the army. "The military factor in the Argentine political process has been present from the moment of Argentina's conception, for it was in response to a military situation and led by the development of military organizations that the first independent political action of the Argentine community was expressed."²⁴ The military has always been a respected institution, though its human rights excesses and its failure in the Malvinas War have undermined it to some extent. It has influenced, directly or indirectly, most areas of Argentine society. President Yrigoyen used it to forcibly remove opposition leaders from office when he sought to intervene in provincial matters. From 1955 to

1958, as well as after 1976, military officers headed all labor unions. In both instances, the influence of the labor masses fell, leading to public disaffection with the military.

Between the period of national consolidation in the 1860s and 1930, the military's contribution to national development had been in almost pure military matters.²⁵ It had fought a successful war and had annihilated the Indians, thereby expanding the area of national control. It had successfully undertaken the exploration and mapping of previously inaccessible areas (Patagonia and the Chaco). It had also eliminated the last of the regional caudillos, thereby bringing the control of all armed force under the national military. Further, the military also offered hope to the lower strata of society as well as the immigrants for it provided a path of upward mobility to practically all levels of society.²⁶

Early military involvement in industry began with General Mosconi. He was instrumental in the development of the state oil monopoly in the 1920s. President Peron, during his first tenure in office, portrayed his "New Argentina" as an organized community in which the armed forces served as the backbone.²⁷ One role of the military during this formative period was to provide leadership.

Officers occupied civilian posts in Peron's cabinet. They were installed as provincial governors. The chief of the federal police came from the armed forces.

The armed forces were keen supporters of heavy industry and had a supervisory role in the first Five Year Plan. General Manuel Savio became the father of Argentine heavy industry and control of the production of war materials was vested in the General Directorate of Military Factories(DGFM) under his charge. This agency of the national army also explored and exploited the mines to provide raw materials for munitions and other heavy industries.²⁸ In this way, the armed forces played an important role in Peron's economic programs for Argentina.

The armed forces of Argentina was responsible for the development of the Patagonia. It built roads and bridges. Highway 3 and highway 20 which dominate southern Argentina were built by the military. The military also administers 5 bases in Antarctica. These bases provide rescue services as well as conduct scientific investigation. Argentinians express pride in the fact that the first person to reach the South Pole was General Leal, an Argentinian commanding an Argentine Army expedition. Today, other civic action programs include building schools and hospitals. Disaster relief is another responsibility of the armed forces.²⁹

The DGFM now collaborates with private industries in research and development particularly in the steel and petrochemical industries. The San Martin military factory produces trains, bridging equipment, and agricultural tools, complementing the production of these items by civilian factories. In a country with severe financial problems, it is noteworthy that the DGFM remains solvent and has never recorded a loss on its balance sheet in its existence.³⁰ Credit for this has been given to its military leadership. In spite of this, there have been recent moves to privatize certain areas of DGFM operations.

The Argentine Aircraft Military Factory was founded by General Justo. It has become the base of the national airline and its aircraft fleet. The Armed Forces Technical and Scientific Center was founded in 1957. It produces light armament, tanks and other military vehicles. The National Atomic Energy Commission made great strides under the guidance of Vice Admiral Castro-Madero. At present, there are three atomic stations in Argentina which produce 20 percent of the national requirement. There are also two heavy water plants. Argentina contributes to regional stability having declared that its policy is to use all atomic power for peaceful purposes. It has signed a treaty with Brazil for technology exchange and open inspection of facilities.³¹

Argentina's policy of mandatory military service for its citizens, which began in 1905 under General Roca, continues up to today. Conscripts represent 15 percent of the armed forces strength. Service by this means is for one year. In this way, the society receives a continuous flow of well trained and disciplined citizens who maintain an interest in the military. It also provides a ready reserve for the regular armed forces in case of emergency.³²

The integration of the military with the civil is seen at the academic level. Since 1990, civilians have been attending the Military Engineer School. At this institution, there are also civilian and military professors. At the Staff College and the National Defence School, the pattern is the same. Civilians attending these institutions are taught strategy, geopolitics, and national defence courses, thereby understanding the workings of the military system and the thought patterns of the military hierarchy. Increased mutual trust and respect have been the result.³³

Argentina's military has been able to support the country's economy by reducing its dependence on imports of military hardware, and heavy equipment through its production of these items. It has provided the country with leadership in critical times though very often leading to disastrous results. It has recently been cementing the bonds of cooperation between the civilian and military sectors through interaction in schools and industry.

However, the disadvantages of military involvement in Argentina must be noted. Some of its military governments have made the political climate very unstable and have denied the people the right to participate in the political process. There has been economic stagnation, high levels of inflation and severe unemployment. In most cases, this was caused by mismanagement of the economy by a group of military officials not trained to handle an economy. Protests followed economic problems and the military reacted by curtailing the rights of the citizens. This action precipitated social decline and protests became even stronger. Human rights abuses have been noted during periods of military rule in Argentina. Since the armed forces withdrawal from politics in the 1980s, there has been an increase in political participation by the people, human rights have been restored, and economic stability has returned.

Brazil

The arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil signalled the beginning of the modern state of Brazil. A fleet under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral set sail from the Tagus river in Portugal on a voyage to India. On April 22, 1500, the fleet sighted land at approximately 17 degrees south latitude. After landing and reconnoitering the coast, Cabral dispatched news of his "discovery" to King Manuel I of Portugal.³⁴ He called the new land "Island of Vera Cruz"

for he thought it was an island. When early merchants returned to Portugal, from this new land, with cargos of logs containing a red dye, the Portuguese name for the dye, Brazil, was applied to the whole country. The name Brazil gained popular acceptance and has remained up to today.

When Cabral arrived in Brazil, he found the country inhabited by Indians estimated to number one million. They were fragmented into innumerable small tribes classified by the Portuguese into the Tupi-Guarani and the Tapuya. The former group occupied the river and coastal regions while the latter occupied the interior.³⁵ The Tupi tribesmen, who were first encountered because of their location along the coast, traded reluctantly with the Portuguese. The men engaged in fishing and hunting while the women cleared the land, planted, and harvested crops. Most tribes lived communally in large thatched huts. They were monogamous and recognized a chief as the leader of the tribe.

In 1521, a Portuguese colonist planted sugar cane in what became the province of Pernambuco, thus laying the foundations for the Brazilian economy for the next two hundred years.³⁶ The Portuguese forced the Indians into slavery to work on the sugar plantations. Their numbers declined due to their unsuitability for the hard work on the sugar plantations and also from the new diseases brought in by the Portuguese such as small pox, measles, and tuberculosis.³⁷ This caused the colonists to seek

alternative labor. They set up trading posts along the West African coast and began to trade in African slaves. They were brought to Brazil to replace the Indians working on the sugar plantations. Simultaneously, Portuguese were introduced into the indian tribes to live among them and learn their language and culture. These men flourished among the Indians and became almost legendary figures. "They sired an army of mestizo offspring, and later helped the Portuguese establish their first colonies."³⁸ The three main racial components that have comprised the unique Brazilian population were thus present early.

In 1807, Napoleon invaded the Iberian peninsula, forcing the regent, Joao VI, and members of his court to flee to Brazil. With the assistance of the British government, 1,500 Portuguese aristocrats were also taken to Brazil. Suddenly Rio de Janeiro found itself converted from being an administrative outpost to being the capital of the far-spread Portuguese empire.³⁹ All Brazilian ports were now free to trade with any nation. Brazil prospered. The king encouraged immigration and development of industry. He established a national bank and printery. He built a library, medical school, and a military academy.

In spite of his presence there, Joao ruled Brazil as a Portuguese colony until 1815. In January of that year he decreed that Brazil be raised to the status of a separate kingdom. This pleased many Brazilians but worried the

native Portuguese⁴⁰ who were concerned about the future of Portugal. In 1814, Napoleon was defeated but Joao, expressing great love for Brazil, refused to return home. In the interim, events in Portugal and Brazil led Joao to believe that he was in danger of losing both kingdoms.

The Brazilians had become fed-up with the pomp, haughtiness and excesses of the courtiers. A serious revolt took place in Pernambuco in 1817. A revolt in Portugal in 1820 deposed the regent and its leaders convened a parliament. The new government in Portugal issued orders to disobey Joao's commands. This led to more revolutionary activity in Brazil. Under British advice, he returned to Portugal in 1821, leaving his son Pedro I as regent.

On September 7, 1822, Pedro declared independence from Portugal and Brazil became an empire with Pedro I as "Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil."⁴¹ Though immensely popular initially, Pedro was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Pedro II on April 7, 1831. By this time, his popularity was on the wane. He was accused of showing favoritism to Portuguese, estrangement from the popular Queen Leopoldina, openly keeping a mistress, contemptuous treatment of his parliamentarians, and extravagance.⁴² Pedro II ruled until 1889. Brazil was a constitutional monarchy, dominated by a landholding aristocracy. Though he

was cultured, intelligent, and well-intentioned, Pedro II eventually fell out of favor with the aristocracy and the military.

In the Americas, a monarchy was out of place. Democracy was making impressive gains in the United States and Europe was moving towards more representative government.⁴³ In 1870, a campaign to bring the monarchy to an end, started. The economy was declining during the years 1880-86 due to a fall in coffee prices. Additionally, Pedro came into conflict with the church which withdrew its support for the monarchy. Pedro also abolished slavery in 1888 without compensating the slaveowners. They also withdrew their support for the monarchy.

Finally, Pedro, who was not friendly to the military, sought to reduce their budget and influence, and bring them under closer control.⁴⁴ By this time, the military numbered 100,000 men who had been made heroes by the Paraguayan War of 1865-70. The generals felt a sense of importance and began taking political positions in defence of their military interests. On November 15, 1889, the military took power, quietly sending Pedro into exile. Since then, the military has retained at least residual authority over the state. "So far as civilian leaders have been formally in control, they have always had to defer to the armed forces and attend to its needs."⁴⁵

Today Brazil covers an area of 3,286,470 square miles, making it the fifth largest country in the world, stretching across three time zones. Brazil shares boundaries with every South American nation except Chile and Ecuador. Half of the country is a plateau averaging between 500 to 3000 feet in height. There are about twenty mountains above 5000 feet but none above 10,000 feet. The Amazon river is navigable by ocean going vessels as far as Peru, and some of its tributaries are also plied by major ships.

Brazil is divided into five distinct regions. The North stretches across the northern third of the country and is the largest and least populous. This region is drained by the Amazon river and is an area of legendary, though yet unproved, wealth and potential.⁴⁶ This is the area of the largest rain forest in the world. The Northeast region is subject to recurring droughts. Its tropical climate has traditionally favored the growth of sugarcane and cocoa. The East region is densely populated and stretches from the state of Sergipe to Rio de Janeiro including Minas Gerais. Rainfall is plentiful here. The mining industry is important in this region with high grade iron ore being predominant.

The South is the center of Brazil's fast growing industry and agriculture. Immigrants have come to this region in large numbers, attracted by its bright economic

prospects. The climate here is mild. The world's largest hydroelectric power plant is at Itaipu in this region. The Central West region is also a fast growing area in Brazil. It contains the federal capital, Brasilia, which has acted as an economic multiplier by increasing development in this region. It is the site of lucrative agricultural businesses. The climate varies from tropical to mild and in the north rainfall is heavy and dense forests abound. In the low lying savannah regions, cattle rearing is carried out.

Ninety percent of Brazil's 158,202,019 people live on 10 percent of the land.⁴⁷ They live in a 200 mile wide zone on the Atlantic coast from south of Fortaleza to the Uruguayan border.⁴⁸ Brazil is the most populous country in Latin America and has an annual growth rate of 1.8 percent.⁴⁹ Through miscegenation and immigration, the Brazilian society experienced great changes. Four major groups now make up the population. They are the indigenous Indians, who number about 200,000, Africans, Portuguese and several European, Middle Eastern and Oriental immigrants. Fifty five percent of the population is white, 38 percent mixed, six percent black and one percent other racial origins.⁵⁰

The main religion in Brazil is Roman Catholicism which began at the time of colonization through the Jesuit missionaries. Recently a number of Protestant sects have

grown especially among the poor urban dwellers and some Brazilians still pay homage to voodoo gods. The official language is Portuguese, though Spanish, French, and English are taught in schools. Knowledge of English has become a key to professional, social, and business advancement in Brazil.⁵¹

From 1889 to the present Brazil has had a federal republic form of government with executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The President is Chief of State and Head of Government. Since the overthrow of the monarchy, the power and authority of each of these branches have varied. Additionally their method of election/appointment to office has also varied. As an example, during 1889-1930, the president was chosen by direct nationwide vote for a four-year term. His powers were restricted by the states, which had autonomy over their affairs, and Congress.

During the period 1930-37, the presidential powers were expanded and the autonomy of state governments reduced. Congress resisted attempts to reduce its influence, and in 1937, the president used force to remove opponents in state governments and to close Congress.⁵² During the 1937-45 period, "the president was legally an unrestricted dictator, who could remove state officers at will."⁵³ After the 1946 election, the new constitution reduced the powers of the president, who was now directly elected for a five-year term. From September 1961 to January 1963, the

administration was handled by a prime minister nominated by the president and serving at the direction of Congress.⁵⁴ Congress became very powerful, often refusing to implement reforms demanded by the President. After the military coup of 1964, power was concentrated in the presidency and the military high command. Congress became a rubber-stamp body. The president was now chosen by the high command. Though generally, not interfered with, the judiciary was purged in 1968.

Therefore in the Brazilian system, until very recently, checks, balances, and separation of powers did not really apply and the federal republican system has been affected by authoritarianism. The military which was very influential during the monarchy and actually governed from 1964 to 1985 is still powerful. The military has traditionally fulfilled a duty as the moderating power in ensuring that progress, order and discipline prevail in the society.⁵⁵

Based on the 1988 Constitution, Brazil now has a president directly elected for an unrenovable term of five years. The Congress is bicameral consisting of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The Congress has been given greater power with regard to budget preparation, foreign debt agreements and the drafting of legislation. The Judiciary, headed by a Supreme Court comprising Senate-approved members, now has substantial administrative and financial

autonomy. Apart from federal courts in the state capitals and a Federal Appeal Court, there are also special courts for military, labor and electoral matters. The 26 states of Brazil have their own constitution, legislatures and judicial systems.⁵⁶

The early foundation of the Brazilian economy was a monoculture based on sugar. This role was subsequently taken over by coffee. Substantial diversification has taken place since the 1950s and 1960s. Coffee, which once accounted for 50 percent of exports now accounts for only 3.5 percent (1990). Other exports include iron ore (7.7 percent), vegetable oil (5.3 percent), soya beans (2.9 percent), orange juice (4.8 percent), footwear (3.5 percent) and aluminum (3.1 percent).⁵⁷ Brazilian imports, which in 1991 were \$21 billion, include crude oil, capital goods, chemical products, foodstuff, and coal.

The economy has large agricultural, mining, and manufacturing sectors. However, it is plagued by declining real growth, runaway inflation, and an unserviceable debt of \$122 billion. The new government is only now attempting to formulate a policy direction for the economy. Brazil has the world's eight largest market-based economy with a GDP of \$358 billion (1991). Apart from its traditional exports, Brazil is now an exporter of arms and ammunition. This industry blossomed from 1977 when Brazil cancelled a 25-year old military assistance treaty with the United States. This

was due to U.S. criticism of Brazil's human rights record.⁵⁸ Its arms and ammunition industry has now doubled since 1977.

Brazil's Constitution has trade protectionism enshrined in it. This has caused a great amount of criticism to be levelled against it, for while it practices protectionism, it has increased its exports to the U.S., European, African, and Middle Eastern countries. In 1989, Brazil had a \$5.9 billion trade surplus with the U.S.⁵⁹ In spite of the gains made in enhancing its status in the world as a major power and industrialized nation, Brazil's internal situation continues to worsen. The government is taking action to remedy the economic ills. Its present program includes privatization of state companies, a more equitable tax structure based on progressive taxation, a floating exchange rate, and phasing out of import controls.⁶⁰

The Armed Forces of Brazil retain its claim of being the ultimate arbiter of political life in Brazil.⁶¹ The armed forces consists of the Brazilian Army, Navy of Brazil (including Marines) and the Brazilian Air Force. Brazil's military was largely quiet and supportive of the monarchy from 1822 to 1889. Since then it has intervened in the political life of Brazil, playing a decisive role, while maintaining virtually non-violent civil-military relations.⁶²

Former minister of war, General A. de Lyra Taveres claimed that the Brazilian army is

unquestionably a part of the people, perhaps the most representative of the people, because within its ranks the classes mix, the social standards become the same, the creeds and political parties are ignored, differentiation and inequality among men are forgotten The Army . . . has been since the beginning of the Nation the great armor which sustained the unity of the Homeland, preserving it from threats of fragmentation, assuring the cohesion of that archipelago of provinces that tend to become isolated, each with its own peculiarities.⁶³

The army and navy played a major part in suppressing revolts in Brazil between 1824 and 1848. From 1889, after the popular overthrow of Pedro, to the present time, all successful interventions by the armed forces have had the backing of the majority of the population.⁶⁴ During the administrations of Marshal Manoel Deodoro de Fonseca and Marshal Floriano Peixoto, military officers occupied cabinet posts and key administrative positions in the government. After a fifteen-year period of civilian rule, the military returned to government through its presidential candidate, General Hermes de Fonseca. His government is generally accepted today as one of the most inept, corrupt and extravagant regimes that modern Brazil has experienced.

Between 1914 and 1930, the military avoided political issues though reserving the right to adjudicate political disputes between civilians. Its major focus during this period was on maintaining its status and privileges. Throughout the years 1889-1930 one of the

positive contributions by the military was in the maintenance of peace and stability as evidenced by the resignation of Deodoro, rather than risk a civil war⁶⁵ and in the support given to Peixoto in the face of armed rebellion. The armed forces also assisted in peace and stability by helping to open the hinterlands, developing technology, supporting a positive national policy, and avoiding clashes with labor unions.

Writing in 1964, John Johnson in "The Military and Society in Latin America," claimed that "no military establishment today . . . has contributed as much to the technological and scientific development of a Latin American republic as have the Brazilian military."⁶⁶ Up to 1874, the military academy provided engineers for both the civil and military sectors. After that time and until the First World War, the academy trained the majority of Brazil's engineers. Before the end of the nineteenth century, army engineers explored the vast interior of Brazil, cutting trails, laying telegraph lines, and doing research. These pioneers were the original cartographers and naturalists of Brazil.

Along the settled coastal areas the army constructed roads, railroads, port installations, and factories. The navy charted the Brazilian territorial waters, provided facilities for dry docking, and transported people and produce to remote areas like the Amazon basin.

Between 1930 and 1964, the military intervened increasingly in government. It intervened in 1930, forcing President Luis to leave and installing Getulio Vargas. In 1945, the armed forces again intervened to remove Vargas himself when he apparently reneged on his promise to hold elections.⁶⁷ It supervised the 1945 elections and supported the government of President Dutra. Vargas was re-elected in 1950 after the military agreed to let him run for office. By 1954, the economy was declining. Inflation had badly affected the economic position of Vargas' main political supporters, the working and middle class. There were rumors that a military coup was imminent. On August 22, Vargas rejected an air force demand that he resign and the next day acted similarly on an army demand. On August 24 Vargas committed suicide.⁶⁸

In 1955, a coup by the War Minister ensured that the President-elect Kubischek would assume office. This was in response to rumors that there was a plot to prevent Kubischek from becoming president. In 1961, three military ministers announced their reluctance to accept the Vice-President as successor to President Quadros after his sudden resignation and they launched a coup. The coup failed due to lack of support. Philip Raine gives credence to the statement that all successful military interventions in Brazil have had popular support. In his book, "Brazil: Awakening Giant," he notes that the military intervention of

1961 failed because the articulate public did not support it. The 1955 coup failed for a similar reason.⁶⁹

"Until 1964, the role of the armed forces in nation building and modernizing was, on balance, salutary and constructive."⁷⁰ From 1961-64, the National War College shaped the doctrine of national security which greatly influenced the role of the armed forces in that period. Civilians were allowed to attend this institution where the curriculum emphasized the study of basic problems of foreign policy development and its relationship with national security strategy. The college provided a framework for senior members of the armed forces to work with the civilian elite to develop a sophisticated model for Brazil's future development. The model emphasized military security, socioeconomic development, and political development. By 1964, the military felt itself capable of assuming the reins of power. With the support of the civilian elite with whom they had interacted at the college, the armed forces were prepared to implement their developmental model.⁷¹

In addition, the Goulart government was going through a crisis from its formation in 1961. The prime minister resigned in June 1962. His nominated successor was rejected by the Congress. The next prime minister resigned after two days in office. Inflation was high and the nation was beset by riots and strikes. Political and economic instability grew. When Goulart intervened in a matter of

naval discipline and supported the indiscipline of a subordinate by dismissing the navy minister, the armed forces moved to depose him. Goulart fled to Porto Alegre, then to Uruguay, and the president of the Chamber of Deputies was sworn in as acting president.

In due course, the military informed the nation that it was assuming power, going a step further from previous interventions where it had merely removed the chief of state. The military had gone beyond moderating power, it was now exercising it.⁷² During the first decade of military rule, the government faced a myriad of economic and political problems. Previous officials were deprived of their political rights for ten years by being placed on a list drawn up for that purpose. Presidential elections were removed from the hands of the public. Presidents were to be elected by the Congress. This was changed subsequently to election by an electoral college made up of members of the national and state legislatures. Only two political parties were allowed in the electoral process. In the judicial arena, military courts tried political cases. Local police organized death squads to deal with petty criminals.⁷³

The military regime from 1964-74 experienced great success with its economic policies. The economy grew at an annual rate of ten percent until the surge in oil prices in 1974 dealt it a severe blow. By pursuing a policy of periodic, small devaluations, financial speculation was

curtailed. Incentives were given to the manufacturing sector to boost production. This resulted in Brazil exporting watches to Switzerland, computer components to the U.S., and shoes to Italy.⁷⁴ After 1974 and a change of government, the same economic policies were pursued with minor modifications. The world-wide economic situation however, did not permit a similar degree of success.

Politically, the government followed a policy of liberalization but its popularity was on the wane. By 1985 the military was on the defensive. This situation followed five years of social mobilization and protest. In 1985, the military agreed to a return to civilian rule and on March 15, Tancredo Neves was inaugurated as president. The military regime of 1964-85 did make some progress in the economic and administrative field.⁷⁵ It stressed nationalism while opposing graft and corruption. It put an end to the monoculture and diversified the economy.

Today the armed forces of Brazil continue to contribute to nation building in several areas. The importance of the Amazon has grown recently because of its significance to the world environment and to Brazil's economic development. The military has been playing an increasing role in the protection of the Amazon Basin from miners, who do much to pollute the rivers, and some lumberjacks who engage in unauthorized tree-cutting. It also conducts environmental programs on the reservations.⁷⁶

The military is constantly providing assistance to communities in times of disaster. Certain areas stand out in this regard. In the state of Santa Catarina, flooding occurs while the northeast region is subject to drought and in the Amazon itself there occur a series of problems like landslips, flooding, and broken roads and bridges.⁷⁷

The military's role in opening up the hinterland has not diminished. It continues to build railroads, roads, and bridges to make rural areas accessible. It provides such communities with wireless communications. It builds schools, hospitals, installs water supply, and electricity systems thereby making these areas habitable. Also, where medical resources are lacking, as in the Amazon, the armed forces provide medical and dental treatment for the inhabitants. In times of emergency, personnel evacuation from these areas is done by the military.⁷⁸ In normal times, it provides air, sea, and land transport for personnel to remote areas like the northeast and the Amazon. This is done to make up for the absence of commercial transport because of cost ineffectiveness. The air force has been particularly effective in providing mail, passenger and cargo services to outlying areas.⁷⁹

In the field of education, the armed forces are very involved. Apart from teaching their own recruits to read, write, and acquire a trade, they also provide similar services to civilians. The Military Engineering Institute

and the Technological Air Force Institute provide high-level education for civilians. Approximately 100 civilians are enrolled each year, who graduate in several fields of engineering.⁸⁰ In addition, several military high schools are open to civilians. Another program involves teaching physical education to children during school vacation.

Military involvement in industry takes two forms. First, the military cooperates with civilian agencies in research and development as in the case of the navy and a civilian university in the atomic energy field. Second, it provides leaders, on attachment for civilian agencies such as the National Steel Mill, the merchant marine, the postal and telegraph service, railway companies, and the national motors plant. This contribution continues when some officers take up permanent employment at these types of establishments on retirement.⁸¹ Some other nation building contributions include a blood donation program, support to the police in the war on drugs, and control of civilian air traffic by the Air Force Directorate.⁸²

The Brazilian Armed Forces have served as a catalyst and instrument of social, economic, and political reform. They have provided an avenue for upward social mobility. As guardians of the constitution they have exercised moderating power by taking over the reins of government. Their interventions have also had serious repercussions for the Brazilian society. One notes the government of General

Hermes de Fonseca as one of the most incompetent, corrupt and wasteful regimes ever experienced by Brazilians. His administration caused serious societal unrest. After the removal of Goulart from the presidency, the military disenfranchised many former officials by depriving them of their political rights. The military government further narrowed the political process by excluding the population from elections for the post of president. The country was further restricted to two political parties by the military leaders. Finally Brazil witnessed the arrival of the notorious death squads. These were used to both silence political opponents and get rid of people deemed unfit for society. Today the Brazilian military observes the operations of government in a detached manner but still desirous of being able to influence events.⁸³

Republic of Korea (ROK)

Japanese rule in Korea ended after the Second World War, when the country was divided, with the United States and the Soviet Union occupying territory south and north of the 38th parallel respectively. The Japanese had ruled for 35 years. The history of Korea, before the Japanese invasion, dates back some 4,000 years. Known as the Land of the Morning Calm, Korea's early days are shrouded in myths.⁸⁴ In 7 B.C., tribes from south of the Han river united and established the kingdom of Silla with the capital

at Kyongju. Two decades later, the kingdom of Koguryo was established in northern Korea. In 18 B.C., a third kingdom, Paikche was established.

The three kingdoms had varied cultures. Silla was the most advanced, emphasizing the arts and sciences. Koguryo was less advanced, and Paikche developed along hedonistic lines. Struggles among the three kingdoms for supremacy ended in 668 with Silla the victor and uncontested ruler of the entire peninsula.⁹⁵ Although the power of the rulers was strong, so also was the power of the noble classes and local chiefs. Over the years, fighting among themselves and against the king of Silla ended in victory for Wanggon, who was one of his opponents. After eliminating all resistance to his rule, he established the kingdom of Koryo⁹⁶ from which Korea, the western name for land, was evidently derived.

The Koryo dynasty endured the attacks of the Mongols under Genghis Khan, then Kublai Khan. Nevertheless, the dynasty prevailed and for centuries the civilization of Koryo was very advanced. Gradually private armies were disbanded and reorganized into the state armed forces. Civil service was opened to all citizens rather than remaining the preserve of the noble class. Schools were established, making education more widespread. Education was the key to upward mobility in society. It provided the means to a government job and the privileges which went with

that post.⁸⁷ The noble class was unhappy with this development since it challenged the status quo. During this dynasty, the kingdom experienced a military coup in 1170 as a result of discrimination by civil officials against the military. This was followed by years of chaos, executions, revolts, and counter-revolts. The kingdom declined until 1392 when General Yi Sungke was enthroned. He moved the capital to Seoul and thus began the Yi dynasty.

The early period of this dynasty was marked by major reforms in social organizations. Religious leaders were banished from the cities, thereby giving state officials a free hand in dealing with state matters. General Yi turned monasteries into schools, inaugurated a phonetic Korean language and implemented an equitable tax system. In 1592, the Japanese invaded Korea, because the Korean King refused passage, through Korea, for the Japanese to attack Manchuria and China.⁸⁸ This ended with the defeat of the invaders. During the following century, Korea pursued a policy of isolation. Social reforms were initiated, torture of prisoners was forbidden, scientific progress was made, government administrations improved, slaves were freed, and a measurement system was introduced.⁸⁹ The period of isolation remained until 1876.

In 1876, Japan and the United States negotiated trade treaties with Korea. Eventually similar treaties were made with other major powers. Korea became the scene of

bitter rivalry among Russia, China, Japan, and Britain. On December 4, 1884, a coup against the government of King Kojong was successfully suppressed with the aid of Chinese troops. The coup leaders were pro-Japanese liberals in the Korean government.⁹⁰ This coup attempt, though militarily insignificant, marked a change in international politics in Korea. Its chief effect was to increase Chinese influence in Korea and strengthen the Japanese desire to conquer Korea. At the same time, the Japanese became more disliked by the Koreans. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Korea was ruled by a weak government under foreign protection. The old official class was still in power and internal squabbles between factions continued with factions aligning themselves with competing foreign nations.⁹¹

As foreign countries strove for predominance within Korea, they destroyed Korean culture. The lands of the peasants were falling into foreign hands. The traditional bartering system of the Korean farmer was replaced by money purchases. As living conditions got worse on account of the foreign presence, hatred for foreigners increased among Koreans, and a desire for revenge against them grew. It culminated in the Tonghak Rebellion which was a series of peasant-based revolts centered on the southwest of the country. Under the guise of maintaining order, Japanese troops were inserted into Korea. This resulted in the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) in which the Chinese were defeated.⁹²

Korea now was under Japanese control and guided by Japan, undertook a major reform of the economy, politics, society, and culture. In 1905, as a result of the Taft-Katsura agreement with the US, Japan gained a free hand in the affairs of Korea. This was consolidated by the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Japan imposed a protectorate over Korea and took charge of all Korean foreign affairs and economic matters.⁹³ Korea had now become part of Japan and all foreign diplomatic offices in Korea were closed. Opposition to Japanese rule was felt throughout the country.

In 1907, a royal envoy, at the opening of the Meeting for International Peace at the Hague, made a plea for help in getting rid of the Japanese oppressors. In reaction, Japan forced the Korean emperor to abdicate, it disbanded the army, and placed important administrative matters in the hands of the Japanese Resident-General.⁹⁴ This official previously was Japan's representative in Korea and foreign affairs administrator. By 1910, Japan controlled the judiciary, prisons and police duties.⁹⁵ In August 1910, a treaty annexing Korea to Japan came into effect and Korea came under absolute control.

Japanese rule was repressive and imperialistic. It attempted a total cultural domination of Korea with the aim of transforming Korea to a Japanese identity. The best arable land was given to Japanese immigrants. Japanese was

the language of instruction in schools. Japanese officials dominated the political and economic spheres. Twelve of thirteen provincial governors were Japanese. Arrest without warrant was possible at all times and public gatherings without permission were prohibited. Though little attention was paid to human rights, the Japanese did develop the Korean infrastructure. A series of military and civilian governments oversaw improvements in agriculture, irrigation, land reclamation, railroads, roads, and harbors.⁹⁶ All of this was meant to serve Japanese interests economically and militarily.

Japanese occupation continued during the Second World War. Anticipating Japan's defeat, U.S., Great Britain and China agreed in 1943 that in due course, "Korea shall become free and independent."⁹⁷ On August 8, 1945, Soviet troops entered Korea from the north and took the surrender north of the 38th parallel. U.S. forces took the surrender in the south.⁹⁸ On August 15, 1945, Japan conceded defeat and with this, Korea's dream of independence became a reality. There were now two problems facing Korea. First, because the Japanese had so completely dominated Korean society, when they left, the social, economic, and political machinery simply collapsed. Second, the Soviet Union and U.S. soon came into conflict over the future of Korea.⁹⁹ It was agreed that each would occupy its own sphere, north and south of the 38th parallel in the interim. The issue was

taken to the United Nations for a resolution. In September 1947, a decision was made to hold general elections for a national government. This did not meet with Soviet approval. However, in May 1948, elections were held only in the south. Syngman Rhee was inaugurated as President, as the Republic of Korea(ROK) in the south, was proclaimed on August 15, 1948. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea(DPRK) was established in the north on September 9, 1948.¹⁰⁰

The ROK today covers an area of 98,480 square kilometers and has a land boundary stretching for 238 kilometers with the DPRK.¹⁰¹ There are no distinct physical features to facilitate geographic divisions. The ROK has 3,579 islands, the largest of which is Cheju on which stands the extinct Mount Halla volcano. Generally the ROK can be categorized as mountainous with the highest mountains in the northeast. There are four major river systems: Han, Kum, Nakdong and Yongsan. The rivers are not navigable by oceangoing vessels for any great distance.¹⁰² About 32.9 percent of the country are lowlands which form the economic base. Almost all the cities and towns are found in these areas, as well as all of the agriculture. Sixty seven percent of the ROK are forest and woodland.

With a temperate climate, the ROK has short, hot, humid summers and long, cold, dry winters. Rainfall is heaviest in the summer months, due to the effect of the

monsoon. Annual average rainfall is between 40 and 55 inches. Not much snow occurs during the winter. The ROK has experienced occasional typhoons accompanied by high winds and floods.¹⁰³

Ten million of the ROK's 44,149,199 people live in the capital city, Seoul, making it the twelfth largest city in the world. Koreans are a homogenous people of Mongoloid descent who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population. There is a very small Chinese minority (20,000) living in the country. The spoken language is Korean though English is widely taught in schools. In 1990, ninety-six percent of Korean were considered literate. Religion in the ROK is strongly based on Confucian tradition. Christianity is growing, practised by 24.3 percent of the population. Buddhism, Shamanism, and the Chondogyo religion are also practised. "The linguistic and ethnic homogeneity has enabled the mobilization of the society for developmental or political goals and has enhanced economic equity."¹⁰⁴

The growth of the Korean economy since the Korean War is one of the world's most remarkable examples of successful national economic development. Not well endowed with natural resources, Korea has built an economy based on exports and supported by an industrious, innovative, and entrepreneurial people. The Korean economy has moved through a period of import substitution and foreign aid maximization to export promotion.¹⁰⁵ Real GNP has increased

more than 10 percent annually since 1988. Agriculture now accounts for eight percent of GNP and employs 21 percent of the labor force. The main crops are rice, root crops, barley, vegetables, and fruit. Animal husbandry activities concentrate on cattle, hogs, and chicken production with milk and eggs as by-products. The ROK is self-sufficient in food and its annual fish catch of 2.9 million metric tons is the seventh largest in the world.¹⁰⁶ Industrial production accounts for 45 percent of GNP with textiles, clothing, footwear, food processing, chemicals, steel, electronics, automobiles, and ship building being the main industries. In 1991 exports totalled \$71.9 billion while imports reached \$81.6 billion.¹⁰⁷

The conduct of politics and government in the ROK today is influenced by deeply ingrained Confucian political thought, 35 years of Japanese colonial rule and forty years of strong military control mixed with U.S. involvement. The country has a strongly centralized system of government with the Prime Minister at its head. The Chief of State is the President. The government has Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches. Elections for the post of president are held every five years while elections to the National Assembly are held every four years. The ROK is divided into nine provinces and six special cities for administrative purposes. Each subdivision is responsible for executing national law and policies, and for providing social services.

A new constitution was proclaimed in 1988. It represents the determination of the major political leaders to ensure that the ROK has a more mature, developing democracy. The National Assembly approved the revised constitution on October 12 and it was overwhelmingly accepted by the people in a referendum on October 27. One key feature of the constitution is the provision for presidents to hold office for only one term without the right to re-election. The judiciary has been given more autonomy and the powers of the National Assembly have increased. Fundamental freedoms such as the freedom of speech, press, association, and assembly have been instituted. The armed forces have been charged to be apolitical. A new office, prosecutor-general was created to deal with judicial abuses.¹⁰⁸

The ROK Armed Forces consist of an army, navy, air force, and marine corps. Their origins lie in the National Constabulary and Coast Guard. These consisted of volunteers and were established in January 1946, with the Constabulary numbering 25,000 men and the Coast Guard, 2,500 men. Both units were supplied with equipment left behind by the Japanese after their defeat. The Constabulary had no heavy military equipment and the Coast Guard had only small craft for offshore patrol duties. The majority of the officers of both units had either been in Korean military units in China or college and university students who had been drafted into

the Japanese army towards the end of the Second World War.¹⁰⁹ ROK troops received only basic training from the U.S. forces initially and no attempt was made to develop a serious defensive force.

When the ROK was inaugurated in 1948, the Constabulary had 50,000 troops and 3,000 were in the Coast Guard. In the face of continuing threats from the DPRK, ROK leaders were keen on increasing the size of the force as well as improving its state of readiness. The formation of National Defence Forces in August of that year failed to strengthen the military. Money was limited and no military assistance program had been established with the United States. The headquarters of the army and navy were established in November 1948, the marine corps in April 1949 and the air force in October 1949. All American servicemen except 500 advisors were withdrawn from the ROK by June 1949. Lack of American military assistance to the ROK stemmed from President Rhee's declared intention to invade the DPRK to unify the peninsula. This situation of limited American military support remained until the outbreak of the Korean War.¹¹⁰

A system of conscription was established on August 6, 1949. Through it, all men between the ages of 20 and 40 were subject to conscription. Service was for two years in the army or three years in the navy. When the DPRK launched its invasion of the ROK on June 25, 1950, the country and

the armed forces of the ROK were unprepared.¹¹¹ Lack of training and equipment were the main problems. The Korean War almost destroyed the armed forces but it caused a great increase in its size. By late 1953, the army numbered 400,000 men and its major goal was constructing a reliable defence posture with its own resources. New military academies and a war college were built. More military assistance came from the United States and the standard of training and equipment was improved. Many officers received advanced training at American service schools.

During the years 1948-61, the military was used by the Rhee government to build and administer political youth groups aligned with it. The military provided technical training to the youth which enhanced economic growth. Also, the education and training received at military institutions did much to raise the efficiency, dedication, and nationalist spirit of its members. While enlistment in the armed forces provided an avenue of modest social upliftment for the Korean lower class, higher military education guaranteed real upward social mobility.

President Rhee also found it necessary to use the military to keep his opponents in check. Faced with deteriorating relations with the national assembly, increased communist activities, and public insecurity, he turned to the armed forces for support.¹¹² His rule became autocratic as he sought to suppress civil liberties. The

armed forces put down a rebellion on Cheju island in 1949 by the end of which 30,000 persons were killed. On June 26, 1949, the leader of the Korean Independence Party, who had links with the DPRK, was assassinated by a ROK army officer. This exacerbated the political climate¹¹³ and Rhee sought ways to avoid the national elections due in 1950. Nevertheless, assembly elections were held on May 30.

After these elections, Rhee's support in the Assembly fell from 156 to 57 seats. Rhee rigged the 1952 presidential elections to some extent and did so again in 1956. However, in the 1956 elections, the opposition candidate for vice-president, Chang Myon, was elected, as well as a considerable slice of the opposition candidates, to the National Assembly. By 1960, as preparations for the presidential elections were underway, Rhee continued his intimidation of opposition politicians. The army became an effective political arm of the administration as it broke up student demonstrations, enforcing Rhee's laws. Rhee was again a candidate in these elections.

The election was held on March 15, 1960 and even by previous standards, this election was exceptionally corrupt.¹¹⁴ On April 18, students from Korea University rose in rebellion after the body of a student was found floating in Masan's harbor, murdered by Masan's police. Faculty members joined the revolt the following week. In spite of

many deaths, the revolt continued and spread. President Rhee resigned and left Korea on April 26, 1960.¹¹⁵

This was followed by the short lived regime of Yun Po Son which could not fulfil the aspirations of the population in terms of political and economic progress. In a little over a year there were 500 major demonstrations by university students and 45 by trade unions. On May 16, 1961, the military seized power in a coup that was almost bloodless but was efficiently and carefully executed. Though Yun Po Son was kept on as president until March 1962, General Park Chung Hee was de facto head of state.

During the rule of the military, its importance and contributions increased dramatically. Between 1961-1963, more than 55 percent of cabinet level officials were former military officers. The military dominated ministerial committees where large amounts of money were spent, such as transportation, construction, and agriculture. Thirty-nine percent of board directors and over 18 percent of vice-ministers were from the military.¹¹⁶ Having pledged to eliminate corruption and to develop a self-sustaining economy, the military government confiscated large sums of illegally obtained money, from some 60 persons. It reorganized the government by creating an Economic Planning Board, a Construction Ministry, and a Public Information Ministry.

To prepare for a return to civilian rule, the military government, now under the presidency of General Park Chung Hee, set out to revise the constitution. The amended constitution expanded presidential powers, changed the National Assembly to a single chamber with little authority, and brought the Judiciary under presidential control.¹¹⁷ While the office of vice-president was abolished, an office of the deputy premier was created. The president whose term of office remained four years, was now authorized to mobilize the military to maintain public safety and order.¹¹⁸

The economic achievements of military rule from 1961-63 were significant. The value of exports rose from \$41 million to \$85 million. Coal output went from just under six million tons to almost 9 million tons. Cement production went up by 300,000 tons to 800,000 tons. There were also ill-effects from the economic program. Inflation rose by 20 percent annually, urban housing became expensive and scarce, and working conditions were deplorable.¹¹⁹

Presidential elections were held on October 15, 1963 and Park Chung Hee, now a civilian, won. Elections for the National Assembly were held on November 26, 1963 as the process for return to civilian constitutional government was completed. President Park continued in office until 1979 when he was assassinated. By this time, the military had made many contributions to the society. It became a large,

professional, disciplined force which had experienced combat in Vietnam and which now gave the Korean people a sense of security. It continued to provide a measure of upward social mobility as military officers became ambassadors, provincial governors, and key executives in both public and private corporations.¹²⁰ This latter action also created secure bonds, in business, between the government and firms. The military structure reinforced the civilian managerial structure by reaching down into lower levels of the work establishment, resulting in excellent implementation of government decisions. In the 1970s, defence industries expanded as Korea became the fifth largest Third World exporter of arms.

The influence of the military on Korean society has made Korean people regard military careers as not only respectable but also desirable. The military became united in its views on nationalism and these views have been transferred to the society at large. During the period 1961-1979,

The military's contribution to Korean economic development may lie most obviously in its command structure, which has enforced and implemented economic change The personal role of President Park should not be underestimated. In retrospect, however, the era beginning in 1961 may well be remembered as much for the social mobility encouraged by and through the military as for remarkable economic progress.¹²¹

Since 1979, the support given to the ROK society by their armed forces has not diminished. This was highlighted in my interviews with Major Jeon and Major Jung, ROK

students at CGSC and General Han, ROK Defence Attache in Washington, DC. Major Jeon made the underlying point that the military, as part of the national community, makes every effort to contribute to the well-being of the people. In this task, it uses the manpower and equipment it possesses.

In 1990, the President Roh Tae Woo initiated the "New Order, New Life" movement. The aim was to implement a new value system with guidelines for everyday life, commensurate with the ideals of their democratic, industrial society. The movement has expanded into a national movement aimed at establishing a healthy social environment. To support the goal, the armed forces have given support to crime prevention efforts, maintenance of public order, and has campaigned for a ten percent reduction of personal spending among its members and the creation of a more pleasant work place.¹²²

Military police amounting to 2,100 troops per day work throughout the nation on anti-crime patrols. Since April 1991, the reserve forces do night-time patrols aimed at crime prevention. In promoting a healthy environment, the armed forces have dumped more than two million bags of garbage and cleared over 10,000 kilometers of ditches. In pursuance of a simple life style, avoiding luxury and waste, the military promotes the use of homemade goods, abstinence from "luxury sports" such as golf and general frugal living.¹²³ To promote energy saving, the military suspends

the use of cars once every ten days and to encourage industry, it works 30 minutes more each day.¹²⁴

At present, the armed forces are training servicemen in 64 fields of technology. Over 10,000 persons are trained each year, some of whom work in the industrial sector, providing much needed skilled manpower. In addition, the Defence Ministry allows personnel who are eligible for defence call-up to work at designated firms, thereby using their talents for economically productive ends. This action contributes to a more efficient allocation of national manpower.¹²⁵

Since 1982, the armed forces have an agreement with the National Red Cross, to assist in blood donation drives among military personnel, in return for the assurance that the Red Cross would provide all blood, required by the armed forces in peacetime and in war. In 1991, soldiers accounted for 34.7 percent of all blood donated nationally.¹²⁶

The armed forces participate in disaster relief efforts. In emergencies, army task forces lead damage control activities and execute swift relief efforts. The armed forces also maintain an emergency communications network. They repair roads, bridges, and dams destroyed by floods as well as construct them in remote areas of the country. Between 1988-91, seven kilometers of road were constructed east of Uijongbu, using one engineer battalion; between 1990-91, 10.2 kilometers of road (West Taejon

interchange and Kyeryondale), using one engineer battalion; between 1989-93, 46.6 kilometers of road (Haengju Bridge to Jayu Bridge) using three engineer battalions; between 1991 to present, constructing 12.5 kilometers of highway from Shihung to Ansan, using three engineer battalions.¹²⁷ Search and rescue is one of the main tasks performed during emergencies and from 1987 to 1991, over 21,000 persons were rescued.¹²⁸

To help residents of remote regions and isolated islands maintain their health, military specialists in internal medicine, surgery, and dentistry periodically conduct medical counselling and give treatment. The military also takes part in epidemic prevention activities on request from the Ministry of Health. In July, 1991, the armed forces joined the emergency medical services system and they now provide swift evacuation of civilian patients to hospitals. One hundred and seventy nine patients were treated and 18 transported in 1991 by the four hospitals and five helicopters designated for emergency use by the armed forces.¹²⁹

The recent migration of youth from the rural areas to the cities has caused a shortage of labor in the agricultural sector. Farmers now find it difficult to meet deadlines. The military is now involved in campaigns to alleviate the manpower problem and to increase agricultural productivity.¹³⁰ Soldiers have been involved in the planting

and harvesting of the rice crop. Over 200,000 soldiers annually assist in rice production. They also provide additional services for farming households such as repair and maintenance of agricultural machinery, repair of roads and river banks, and spraying agricultural chemicals.¹³¹ In times of drought, the military provides farms with water and on the isolated islands it constructs wells and dams to ensure a year round supply.¹³²

As the ROK's economy grows and living standards improve, there is an increasing demand for air transportation. The civilian airfields are not always able to accommodate the passenger load. Concurrently, the military is experiencing a reduced demand for its air facilities. The result is that the military has been providing airfields for use by civilian aircraft on an availability basis, up to about 120 flights per day.¹³³

The ROK Armed Forces is probably the greatest cohesive force in the society. Their influence remains great through both active and retired military personnel but over the years their actions have also had some negative effects. As early as 1170, when the military overthrew the government and assumed political office, Korea experienced the ill effects of military rule. The country was thrown into chaos. There were executions of political opponents leading to social unrest. The country was gripped by revolts and counter revolts. In this century, during the

administration of Syngman Rhee, the military was used to repress and assassinate political opponents. Many high ranking military officials have amassed great wealth through corrupt means, as a result of their position as members of the government. Since the ROK's recent change to a democratic form of government, the armed forces have been supportive of the democratic process. They continue to serve the government and are subject to civilian control.

Malaysia

Malaysia covers a total area of 329,758 square kilometers comprising the 11 states of Peninsular Malaysia and the states of Sarawak and Sabah. Peninsular Malaysia consists of a number of islands, the largest of which are Langkawi and Penang. All of Malaysia lie within one degree and ten degrees north latitude. Peninsular Malaysia is separated from Sarawak and Sabah by the South China Sea. Sarawak and Sabah lie on the north of the island of Kalimantan and is bordered by Indonesia in the south and Brunei to the north. Peninsular Malaysia is located at the southern end of the Asian mainland. Thailand lies to its north and the island of Singapore to its south. On its east is the South China Sea and on its west lie the Straits of Malacca. This latter waterway is one of the oldest and busiest maritime routes in the world.¹³⁴

The history of Malaysia has much to do with its strategic location, trade routes and power projection. The

Malay Peninsula was inhabited by settlers from South China around 2000 BC. In the first century AD, India was forced to seek new sources of gold and other metals. At that time, access to its two main sources of these goods, China and the Roman Empire, was cut off. The Huns had cut the overland route to China and the Roman Emperor ceased gold shipments to India. The Indians' search took them to the Malay Peninsula where rich deposits of tin were found.¹³⁵

A strong Malay empire, based at Palembang, Sumatra grew. It collected levies and tolls from those ships plying between India and China. The empire dominated both sides of the Straits of Malacca until the 14th century. At about 1400, a muslim prince founded the state of Malacca.¹³⁶ He began to convert the Malays, who were then Buddhists, to Islam. The region became the dominant trading center and Malacca, a center of Malay culture, influential in shaping the political institutions and traditional culture of the Malays through the succeeding centuries.¹³⁷

In 1511, Malacca was captured by the Portuguese, marking the beginning of European expansion in Southeast Asia. The Dutch subsequently captured it from the Portuguese in 1641. The British East India Company leased the island of Penang from the sultan of Kedah in 1786, thereby laying the groundwork for British control of Malacca. This came in 1795. From this time, attempts began at establishing united control over the region. The British

founded a trading settlement in Singapore in 1819 and in 1826, they formed the Straits Settlements.¹³⁸ It was a single administrative unit comprising Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. This entity remained under the control of British India until 1867, when the colonial office in London assumed responsibility. During the period of British rule, the economic development of the area began. The British imported seeds from Brazil and began planting rubber trees.¹³⁹ The discovery of large tin deposits in Perak in the 1840s, led to increased mining activity. The development of the tin mines and the growth of the rubber industry made it necessary for large quantities of foreign labor to be imported. Chinese and Indian labor came in to work the tin mines and rubber plantations respectively.¹⁴⁰

In 1874, the British made protection treaties with the states of Perak and Selangor. Similar treaties were made with the states of Negri Sembilan and Pahang. In 1895, these four states became the Federated Malay States with a British resident-general and a central government. A well-ordered system of public administration was established and public services extended. The capital of the federation was Kuala Lumpur. Within this structure, these states surrendered much of their powers, including control of revenue, to the resident-general. In 1909, the four northern states of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu accepted British advisors in place of Thai advisors and

became British protectorates. In 1914, a permanent British advisor was appointed to Johore. These five states became known as the Unfederated Malay States. The rulers in the Unfederated States had more control over their resources and policies than those in the Federated States. Britain made several efforts to unite both groups but the rulers of the Unfederated States opposed all moves that threatened their state powers.¹⁴¹

During the inter-war years, signs of Malay nationalism began to emerge. Meanwhile the Malayan Chinese experienced an upsurge in patriotism largely due to Japanese aggression against China. They reacted by instituting a series of boycotts of Japanese trade. The Malayan Indians concerned themselves with the struggle for independence in India. Thus, by 1930, the colonial order founded an accommodating "both the Malay aristocracy and wealthy Chinese mercantile class, appeared unshakable."¹⁴²

British control of the peninsula was interrupted when the Japanese invaded and occupied it in December 1941. The occupation lasted until 1945. The Japanese pursued their aim of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and sought the cooperation of the Malay rulers in this. This was meant to make South East Asia the supplier of primary products for Japanese industry, as well as the consumer for Japanese finished products. A further design was to make South East Asian countries Japanese colonies for excess

Japanese population.¹⁴³ The British were unable to organize an adequate counter-offensive to repel the Japanese due to lack of resources and the greater importance of India and the Middle East to British aims. In addition, Japan had overwhelming air superiority. In spite of this, the Japanese never completely conquered the peninsula for there were well organized Chinese and Malay guerilla units offering resistance in the jungle throughout the war.

The Japanese occupation had definite effects on the country and its people. It destroyed the myth of white supremacy, which had successfully sustained colonial rule in Malaya.¹⁴⁴ It also aroused the political consciousness and racial sensibilities of the ethnic groups in the Malayan population. Further, it added to the economic woes of the country, since no attempt was made to develop the region but rather to exploit it.

After the collapse of the Japanese administration at the end of the war, the Chinese-dominated Malayan Communist Party(MCP) was left as the only functioning political and military organization. In the interim, the British had decided to form a Malayan Union of the federated and unfederated states, with Penang and Melaka as a single crown colony and Singapore, because of its strategic importance, as a separate crown colony.¹⁴⁵ The Malay rulers were not consulted in the formulation of this plan, which also extended equal rights to all citizens of the peninsula,

regardless of race. This meant that the special status of the Malays would be removed and their rulers reduced to figureheads. The citizenship plan was also meant to recognize the heroic role of the non-Malays in the resistance movement during Japanese occupation.¹⁴⁶

When the announcement of the formation of the Malayan Union was made, there was open opposition to it from the ethnic Malays. For this purpose, they formed the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), which proved effective in preventing the implementation of the Union plan. After negotiations among the Malay rulers, UMNO, and the British, a new political arrangement was decided. This was the Federation of Malaya, which was inaugurated on February 1, 1948. This new arrangement provided for the preservation of the Malays' special privileges, the sovereignty of the rulers and reduced citizenship rights for the Chinese and Indians. Singapore was left out of the Federation on the grounds that if it was included, the Chinese would outnumber the Malays.¹⁴⁷

Thereafter, the British rebuilt the civil service, set up health, welfare and education programs, and began to revive the economy. Foreign exchange was earned from rubber and tin exports but half the rice requirement was imported. An economic development program based on balanced growth in agricultural production and industry was implemented.¹⁴⁸ Continued prosperity was hampered by terrorist actions in

the jungles and the cost of combatting it. The MCP, unhappy with the provisions of the Federation agreement, turned towards armed struggle and on June 18, 1948, a state of emergency was declared throughout Malaya.¹⁴⁹ The Communists kidnapped and killed rich Chinese and British planters, ambushed travellers, destroyed trains, and hindered rice and rubber cultivation. It cost the government one quarter of the annual national income to combat the terrorists.¹⁵⁰

Meanwhile, demands for self-government came from an elite group comprising Malays, Chinese, and Indians. The British felt obliged to accede. They granted the local people greater representation in the councils and inaugurated a modified cabinet system. Elections were held on the local and then national level. The Malay-Chinese-Indian alliance won the 1955 elections with 84 percent of the votes. From then on, they pursued the goal of complete independence from Britain and on August 31, 1957, the Federation of Malaya became an independent state. The new constitution provided for a single nationality with citizenship open to all who qualified through birth, residence, or language. The uneasiness of the Malays towards this provision was met by the declaration that the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (paramount ruler) was responsible for safeguarding the privileged position of the Malays.¹⁵¹

Britain and Malaya made an agreement on October 12, 1957, on external defence and mutual assistance. Britain

agreed to train and develop the armed forces of Malaya and Malaya agreed to make its bases and facilities available for British use. They further agreed to cooperate in case of threats to the preservation of peace in Malaya.¹⁵²

On August 1, 1962, Britain and Malaya agreed in principle on the formation of the new state of Malaysia. This new state was to comprise the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, North Borneo(Sabah), and Brunei. There was violent opposition to this agreement from Brunei and as a result, it was left out of the new union. On September 16, 1963, the state of Malaysia was formed. On August 9, 1965, Singapore withdrew from Malaysia and became an independent state.¹⁵³

Malaysia has an equatorial type of climate and is subject to maritime influences and monsoons. The year is divided into the Northeast monsoon season which lasts from October to February and the Southwest monsoon season from April to September. The monsoons bring heavy rainfall, especially in coastal areas and annual rainfall varies between 60 and 160 inches. Temperatures in Malaysia vary between 70 degrees and 90 degrees Fahrenheit, though in the mountainous areas they can be considerably lower.¹⁵⁴ Humidity is high everywhere but this is tempered in coastal areas by the sea breezes.

The terrain is generally one of coastal plains rising to hills and mountains. The highest mountain is

Mount Kinabalu which rises to 13,455 feet. The terrain and climate, together, influence the vegetation type. Over 63 percent of Malaysia are covered with tropical rain forest¹⁵⁵ where trees sometimes grow to 200 feet in height. These trees provide the timber wealth of Malaysia. It is estimated that these forests contain 6,000 different species of trees.¹⁵⁶ Apart from forest, three percent of the land are arable, ten percent under permanent crops and one percent is irrigated.¹⁵⁷

Malaysia's population of 18,410,920 persons consists of 59 percent Malays, 32 percent Chinese and nine percent Indian. Seventy-eight percent of the population is literate. The official language is Malay but in this multi-racial country many other languages and dialects are spoken. The Chinese speak Cantonese, Hokkien, Teochew, Hakka, Hainanese, and Foochui. The Indians speak Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Punjabi, Hindustani, and Urdu. English is widely used in business and government circles and has been an important medium of instruction in many schools. Though Islam is the state religion, freedom of worship is guaranteed by the Constitution. Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism are practised.¹⁵⁸

Apart from tin and rubber, Malaysia also has crude oil, iron ore, natural gas, and bauxite among its natural resources. The period 1965-1990 has been characterized by broad economic diversification and rapid economic growth

averaging between seven and eight percent annually.¹⁵⁹ It has moved from an economy dominated by tin and rubber, to one based on manufacturing and agriculture. Manufacturing is now the largest sector of the economy, accounting for 27 percent of the GDP (1990), while agriculture is the second largest, making up 19 percent of the GDP (1990).¹⁶⁰

Malaysia is the world's leading producer of rubber and palm oil, fourth in the production of tin and the largest exporter of tropical timber. It is the world's largest exporter and third largest producer of semiconductor devices and fourth largest producer of cocoa. Its major economic deficiencies are its dependence on exports, which leaves it vulnerable to changes in world commodity prices and its insufficiency of local food supply. However, its prospects for economic growth are bright. A good infrastructure, stable political environment, and reliable work force combine with adequate investment funds and rising costs of production among its competitors (Taiwan, Japan, Singapore, and South Korea),¹⁶¹ to make Malaysia economic future seem assured.

Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy nominally headed by a king. The king is elected for a five year term and is chosen by the nine sultans of the Peninsular Malay states. He is also the leader of the Islamic religion in Malaysia. The government consists of Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches, whose powers and interrelationships

are described in the constitution.¹⁶² The three branches are not equal under the constitution and there is no established system of checks and balances. The Executive, which consists of the Paramount Ruler and his deputy, the Prime Minister and his deputy and the Cabinet, is supreme. The supremacy of the Executive is maintained by strict political party discipline. The prime minister controls all power. "If a minister differs from the Prime Minister on a policy issue, he must either keep silent about it or resign."¹⁶³ The legislature is a bicameral Parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Judicial branch of government is headed by a Supreme Court that operates with a considerable of independence.

The armed forces of Malaysia consists of the Royal Malaysian Army, Royal Malaysian Navy, and Royal Malaysian Air Force. From the late 1940s, the armed forces were oriented towards counter-insurgency. Since the destruction of the communist insurgent forces, the government has embarked upon a program aimed at expansion and modernization of the armed forces. The army is being reorganized and its equipment upgraded to meet the requirements of a more conventional defence posture. Malaysia maintains a defence agreement with the United Kingdom, Australia, Singapore, and New Zealand.¹⁶⁴ The Malaysian military is professional. It is considered non-political and is loyal to the king and sultans and not the political party in power. The Malaysian

Armed Forces play no appreciable role in the economy.¹⁶⁵ In 1986, the total strength of the army was 90,000, navy 9,000, and air force 11,000. While the army is overwhelmingly Malay, the navy and air force contain a higher proportion of non-Malays. In addition, their personnel are more technically skilled than the army.

The absence of the military from the economic and political sphere of Malaysia has been attributed to several reasons. First, the armed forces have inherited the British tradition which frowns on such involvement. Second, the political and military bosses are of the same ethnic origin, often linked by family ties and have common beliefs. Third, the government has protected the Malays and effectively pursued economic development without military prompting. Also, the military's interests are attended to in terms of budgets, salaries, promotions, and honors.¹⁶⁶

Nevertheless, the Malaysian Armed Forces have been and continue to be involved in a number of activities which directly or indirectly contribute to nation building. The engineer corps build and repair roads and bridges in remote areas, thereby allowing farmers easier access to the towns for their produce. As roads are built, more land becomes available to the population for living purposes. In times of natural disasters or emergency, the engineers play a key role in restoring normality to the affected areas. Flash floods are common in certain areas of Malaysia and the armed

forces provide relief to flood victims in the form of temporary relocation, feeding, and medical care. The air force routinely provides emergency air-medical evacuation from remote areas. Medical treatment is also given to citizens in these areas when units go there for training.¹⁶⁷

In the area of human resource development/citizen building, the military contributes in a number of ways. In schools, young cadets are taught leadership and discipline by military personnel. They get opportunities to develop their self-esteem, motivation, and decision making ability. This program is a nursery for future leaders both in the military and civil life. The Armed Forces Defence College is attended by senior military and police officers as well as high level members of the diplomatic corps. In this way, some cooperation and understanding between the civilian and military spheres is engendered. Foreign policy issues take shape amid discussions at this forum.

Over the years, several military personnel have been seconded to government agencies across the country where their special skills were needed. This is normally done to provide technical, administrative, or leadership support to these agencies. As examples, the Military Medical Director was transferred to a government hospital as Director and a highly skilled squash player was attached to the Ministry of Sports as a coach. Military officers also enhance the work environment when they take up employment in big corporations

on retirement from the armed forces. Their experience in leadership, decision making and administration has proven to be an invaluable asset to most firms.¹⁶⁸

In July 1993, Parliament enacted a law to empower servicemen to arrest illegal log-cutters. There has been an increasing problem of deforestation of the rainforest and Malaysia's valuable timber reserves. That law was passed to deal with this problem. In this way, the military indirectly contributes to the economy of Malaysia by protecting its natural resources. Military units also do border protection patrols to counter smuggling in drugs and rice. This activity ensures that maximum customs revenue is collected from imports and illegal drug trading is kept to a minimum. These actions have an economic and social impact respectively. Further, the military looks after the day to day operation of the disciplinary cells in the drug rehabilitation centers, as another social contribution. The military bias evident in the disciplinary process here, has been credited with making the rehabilitation program the success it is. In another field, the navy is designated the National Hydrography Authority. It conducts maritime surveys, to determine navigability in the territorial waters as well as pollution monitoring.¹⁶⁹

The Malaysian Armed Forces do contribute to nation building in several areas. They remain very responsive to the dictates of the government in a civil-military

relationship typical of Johnson's democratic-competitive model. Because of its traditional acceptance of civilian supremacy over the armed forces, the Malaysian military has not had any adverse effects on the population by reason of intervention or political influence.

Venezuela

The modern history of Venezuela begins in 1498 with the discovery of the South American mainland by Christopher Columbus. He landed at Puerto Cristobal Colon on October 12, 1498, while on his third voyage to the West Indies. He found the country inhabited by Amerindians who lived along the coast and near rivers. Their main occupations were hunting, fishing, and farming. The Spaniards, who saw the huts in which the natives lived on Lake Maracaibo, built on stilts, called the country Venezuela after Venice in Italy.¹⁷⁰ With a land area of 352,150 square miles, Venezuela has imposing snow-capped mountains, beautiful beaches along the Caribbean coast, tropical forests, undulating central plains, the massive Orinoco river and its tributaries, and the spectacular Angel Falls (the world's highest waterfall). It is a country that experiences the harsh climate of the Orinoco Delta swamps, also the soothing climate of its mountains.

Caracas, the capital city, is heavily populated. The bulk of Venezuela's 20,675,970 inhabitants¹⁷¹ live in the north and northwest of the country. Venezuela is

strategically positioned. It is situated on the northern coast of South America and is bounded by Colombia, Brazil, and Guyana. It sits astride the major sea and air routes linking the north, central, and southern portions of the Western Hemisphere.¹⁷²

Its society is diverse. Venezuela's population is a mixture of three races: white, African and native American Indian.¹⁷³ Social interaction among the races has resulted in the average Venezuelan being mestizo. Approximately 67 percent of the population were characterized as such in 1992. Whites account for 21 percent, Blacks 10 percent and Indians two percent.¹⁷⁴ In spite of this ethnic diversity, racial discrimination is not evident in the society. It has been noted that "it is striking that in a nation which has so little enjoyed the benefits of political democracy (free elected governments respectful of the rights of minorities), there should be so little feeling of class or caste as in present-day Venezuela."¹⁷⁵ This sentiment was restated by Lieutenant Colonel Hector Rodriguez, the Venezuelan student at the CGSC, during my interview with him on January 9, 1994. Ninety-six percent of the population are Roman Catholics. The official language is Spanish, while Indian dialects are spoken by 200,000 Amerindians in the remote interior.¹⁷⁶

Venezuela's determination for independence from Spain saw many attempts being made towards this end. On

April 19, 1810, at a session of the Cabildo, the members voted by acclamation for independence from Spain. This resulted in the resignation of the Spanish-appointed Governor General. This vote was not accepted by the Spanish Crown. On July 5, 1810, the Declaration of Independence from Spain was signed unilaterally on behalf of the Venezuelan people but there was still objection from Spain. On July 24, 1821, after eleven years of political uncertainty, independence from Spain was finally achieved. This was through military power at the Battle of Carabobo when Simon Bolivar defeated the Spanish forces and liberated Venezuela.¹⁷⁷

Such military forces as existed after this event became predominant and an era of caudillismo was ushered into the history of Venezuela. The caudillos were military chiefs who used their "armed forces" to preserve the integrity of their local region and sometimes sought to expand their influence at the expense of weaker caudillos. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, Venezuela suffered through periods of harsh dictatorships, mild dictatorships, and anarchy punctuated by a few, short periods of relative peace.¹⁷⁸

In 1908, the last and most successful caudillo, Juan Vicente Gomez, came to power and he moved from the west of the country to Maracay, from where he exercised power. He unified the armed forces, modernizing them through arms and

training from the United States, Europe, and other Latin American countries.¹⁷⁹ He used the military to build roads and telegraph networks which, apart from allowing Gomez to better deploy and control the army, also helped in the development of previously inaccessible areas.¹⁸⁰ Gomez "presented his new, powerful army as the instrument to realize 100 years later, Bolivar's dream of building an authoritative, unified state."¹⁸¹ Officials of Gomez's government used the armed forces in nation building, completing many projects using little technical skill but making large profits.¹⁸²

Military rule in Venezuela continued up to 1958, through a series of dictators who used the military to cling to power. There was a three-year period of democracy from 1945 to 1948 following the election of Romulo Gallegos. On January 23, 1958, General Marcos Perez Jimenez, the country's ruler, was overthrown and sent into exile in Spain. Over the next three years, there was a transition to democratic government. In 1961, free elections were held in which the three major political parties; Democratic Action(AD), the Social Christian party(COPEI), and the Democratic Republican Union(URD), participated. From that time, politics and government have evolved to what is now a federal form of government as specified in the 1961 Constitution, the country's twenty-sixth.¹⁸³

The President is Head of State and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. Twenty-two states and a federal district interact in a federal system. There are three branches of government, the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary. They are coequal in theory, but in practice, the Executive is the most important. The Congress, which is the lawmaking body, comprises a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. Elections to this body are held every five years and on the same day as the Presidential elections. Local and municipal elections were held for the first time in Venezuelan in 1989. Formerly, all local and municipal representatives were appointed by the President. It is noteworthy that all former constitutional presidents are permanent members of the senate.¹⁸⁴ A system of proportional representation is used to select members of both Houses of Congress. There is also a system of alternates that allows persons so named, to act in a position held by an incumbent should the incumbent be granted leave of absence. Thus Venezuela is also said to have a representative, alternative, democratic form of government.¹⁸⁵

The Constitution makes provision for the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive and Legislative branches. The members of the Judiciary are nominated by the Executive branch and confirmed by Congress. There are several types of courts at the levels lower than the Venezuelan Supreme Court. The civil, penal, and labor

courts comprise the courts of ordinary jurisdiction while the juvenile, fiscal, and military tribunals comprise the courts of special jurisdictions. Members of Venezuela's military are protected from being tried by civilian courts.¹⁸⁶ In spite of its independence, the Supreme Court has never declared, as unconstitutional, any legislative law or executive decree law.

In summary, democratic Venezuela's judicial system is not yet well established, and a comprehensive national-inspired body of law is lacking, although some is developing. The current judicial system is a melange of democratic political system ideas superimposed on a code background that evolved out of the country's Spanish colonial and dictatorial past.¹⁸⁷

Venezuela was an agricultural economy based on mainly coffee, until the 1920s, when oil was discovered in commercial quantities in the west of the country. From the mid 1920s through World War II, Venezuela was the world's second largest petroleum producer and its largest exporter.¹⁸⁸ Venezuela became very dependent on oil for its foreign exchange earnings. In terms of employment however, it did not benefit much. At that time most of the labor came from Europe, United States, and the Caribbean to fill the technical, administrative, skilled, and unskilled categories. Foreign companies controlled the petroleum industry and Venezuela was the beneficiary of royalties and taxes.

In 1976, the industry was nationalized and has remained in Venezuelan hands up to today. Petroleum now

accounts for 23 percent of the GDP and 80 percent of its export earnings.¹⁸⁹ Venezuela produces and exports bauxite, aluminum, iron ore, agricultural products, and basic manufactures such as textiles and canned food products. It imports machinery and transport equipment, chemicals, foodstuff, and other manufactures. In 1989, Venezuela replaced its development policy of import substitution industrialization with a policy of "Gran Virage" towards an open market economy.¹⁹⁰

The Venezuelan military consists of an army, naval forces (navy, marines, coast guard), air forces, and a national guard. After independence, the focus of the armed forces was on internal missions, defence of the borders and control of national territory. Since the tenures of Presidents Betancourt (1959-1964) and Leoni (1964-1969), the latter mission has become predominant. The military has established links with groups that traditionally provide recruits for the guerrillas and has thus been successful in stemming the growth of guerilla movements. The national guard, whose role is the maintenance of public order throughout Venezuela, has been very successful in this area of activity.

The military, because of its power base, has remained very important to civil authorities. Because of this civil-military relationship, the military is able to exert much influence over the civilian decision makers when

dealing with military affairs. In spite of this, the military has remained under civilian control since 1958, through a system of objective control, as identified by Huntington, involving presidential leadership, political oversight, and military professionalism.¹⁹¹ The military apparently, has accepted the informal doctrine of developmentalism and thus engages in developmental activities as part of the national effort to further the social welfare of Venezuelans.¹⁹²

According to Lieutenant Colonel Hector Rodriguez, the armed forces of Venezuela have been engaged in nation building activities since 1937. The Corps of Engineers built a road stretching from Ciudad Bolivar, on the Orinoco River, to Santa Elena de Uairen, on the border with Brazil. Apart from the obvious advantage of making the hinterland more accessible to the city inhabitants, this project had other effects. It greatly assisted the tourist industry since a major tourist attraction, the Angel Falls, is in this region. It became easier for tourists to visit this natural waterfall. It increased the number of visitors and the amount of foreign exchange accruing to tourism. Additionally, tourists could engage in bird watching as this region contains one of the widest varieties of birds anywhere in the world.¹⁹³

Both the army and the national guard have been used to develop population centers called "Granja Militares."

These centers are established specifically to populate the undeveloped areas, especially to the south. The development of "Granja Militares" also brought new roads, bridges, water and sewerage facilities, security from bandits, medical services, and communications to the areas. All these were provided by the military.¹⁹⁴ Some of these areas, such as the one in Mantecal Modulo in Apure state, produce meat and poultry for sale in the military commissaries in Venezuela.

The Venezuelan Navy is involved in a project, along the Orinoco-Arauca-Uribante rivers, developing the navigability of the waterways. The intention is to better allow manufacturers to bring raw materials from the east to the west in order to produce the final goods in the Andean area. This has contributed directly to the quantity of goods and services coming from the Andean region and therefore increases the GDP of Venezuela.

The Venezuelan Air Force is responsible for transporting researchers and university students to the interior of Venezuela so that they can carry out their research. Private transportation is cost prohibitive so that the air force has undertaken this vital role to facilitate continued research. Additionally, the air force also provides transportation for supplies to the inhospitable regions, and for people, to and from these areas, in cases of emergency.

The national guard has a major role in law enforcement aimed at providing a stable and attractive economic environment for local and foreign investment. Also known as the "Armed Arm of Public Administration", the national guard ensures that custom duties/taxes for alcohol, tobacco, and similar items are collected. It ensures that standards relating to the environment, especially waste disposal, are met. It ensures that local and foreign fishermen do not violate the terms of their fishing licenses and that they fish in specified areas using approved equipment. This is aimed at preserving the rich fishing grounds which abound around Venezuela.

The national guard also conducts operations to limit drug trafficking from neighboring states and has established a special unit to deal with this problem. In terms of national development, this activity has the effect of minimizing drug use in Venezuela and controlling the level of violence which has been seen to accompany the drug trade. The national guard is also employed at seaports and airports to provide security and reassure travellers though some people question its effectiveness in this role.

The armed forces of Venezuela is carrying out a program of public education aimed principally at the people who live in the interior. The program covers academic subjects as well as technical and vocational ones. So successful has this program been that in 1992, the national

guard was given an award by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization(UNESCO), for work done to reduce the level of illiteracy among the peoples of the interior. In nation building terms, the cumulative effect of this has not been fully realized as yet.¹⁹⁵ However, it may prove to be the single most important activity undertaken by the armed forces of Venezuela as its contribution to the nation's development.

On the negative side, the armed forces of Venezuela have not supported nation building when, during their periods of political intervention, they have used violence to repress political thought and action. The authoritarian manner of leaders like General Marcos Perez Jiminez, caused disaffection among Venezuelans and led to social unrest. Since 1958, the military has been under civilian political control and has generally supported the government.

Two Nation Building Programs

The Civilian Conservation Corps

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States was a prosperous nation. The U.S. was exporting industrial and agricultural products to Europe, making loans to European nations at interest, and generally enjoying a period of prosperity. This continued up to 1917, when the U.S. became engaged in the First World War. At the end of the war, everything changed. The U.S. became a

creditor nation, European nations could no longer buy U.S. products and therefore the U.S. period of prosperity came to an end.¹⁹⁶

On October 29, 1929, the U.S. stock market crashed. Many people lost their life's savings. The economy suffered due to reduced demand for goods by domestic consumers. The economy received another setback when the import of goods from abroad was stopped. This resulted in a loss of markets for U.S. goods abroad.¹⁹⁷ Farmers left crops to rot, factories closed, and unemployment grew. The youth of America were hardest hit by the problems of this "Great Depression" which lasted from 1929 to 1939.¹⁹⁸ They suffered when families were forced to sell their farms, when families were disrupted and when jobs could not be found. Between 1930 and 1933, unemployment in the U.S. averaged 18.2 percent, GNP declined, and the prices of farm products, raw materials, and industrial goods fell.¹⁹⁹

In November 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President. Realizing the seriousness of the economic situation in the U.S., he set about to alleviate it by bringing several proposals to Congress. Among them was a proposal to put persons from the cities and elsewhere to work in the forests. On April 5, 1933, President Roosevelt gave effect to the Emergency Conservation Work Act, by issuing an executive order. This was the beginning of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).²⁰⁰ The act was designed to

provide unemployment relief through the performance of useful work, and to restore the country's depleted natural resources.

Among the goals envisioned were timber production, forest fire prevention, flood prevention, plant pest and disease control, prevention of soil erosion, and the construction, maintenance or repair of paths, trails, and fire lanes in national parks and forests. Persons employed in this scheme were to be given housing, subsistence, clothing, medical attention and hospitalization, and a cash allowance for transportation to and from workplaces.²⁰¹ In his foreword to the book "This New America: The story of the CCC," written by A. C. Oliver Jr. and Harold M. Dudley, Colonel Alva J. Brasted notes that the aims of the CCC were to conserve both the material and character resources of the nation.

In pursuance of this objective, hundreds of thousands of America's youth were employed in productive activity while building character, self-esteem, pride, mental and physical health, and discipline. The U.S. Army administered the work camps of the CCC since it "represented a store of experience and an efficient practice in supply, transportation, sanitation, hospitalization, and the housing and organized handling of bodies of men."²⁰²

Army officers were leaders in CCC companies, the Army's Chief of Finance became the CCC's fiscal officer, the

Quartermaster General became its purchasing agent, the Adjutant-General's office compiled its records, and the Assistant Chief of Staff developed plans for day to day operations.²⁰³ As is the situation in Trinidad and Tobago today, suggestions were previously made in the media and in Congress, that the U.S. Army should assist in relieving the problem of unemployment and national distress caused by the depression. The army, therefore, had been forewarned and in spite of initial reservations, had prepared for the coming of the CCC. The CCC work began in July, 1933, the date set by President Roosevelt for commencement.

The Labor Department selected persons for enrollment and the War Department processed and organized them into two-hundred manned companies. The army was responsible for the command, housing, supply, feeding, administration, sanitation, medical care, and welfare of the CCC.²⁰⁴ The CCC was organized along military lines administratively, but the army adhered to instructions that the CCC was not to be militarized. The army led with understanding, sympathy, and the force of personality.

During the life of the CCC, its achievements were many. It built fire trails and other fire prevention facilities such as look-out towers and ranger cabins. It provided the best fire protection which the National Park Service had experienced up to that time.²⁰⁵ It built sanitation and water systems, service roads, its own housing

facilities, and museums. It did reforestation, pest and disease control, historical sites restoration, erosion control, and sand fixation research.²⁰⁶ The CCC contributed directly to the welfare of the Indians. It rebuilt reservations, employed, educated and trained Indians, and thereby improved their economic conditions.²⁰⁷

The CCC contributed to reclamation in arid and semi arid regions of the U.S. by rehabilitating irrigation systems and constructing supplementary water supply facilities.²⁰⁸ It also contributed to the preservation of wildlife by improving wild life habitat through building dams, planting food and cover-producing vegetation, and constructing nesting islands and wildlife shelters.²⁰⁹ Assistance was given to the Grazing Service by the CCC. Its members constructed springs and reservoirs in the outer reaches of range lands thereby allowing grazing to be expanded into vast land areas, which were rich in foliage but usable without water.²¹⁰

In Merrill's book, Roosevelt's Forest Army, he cites letters received from CCC participants as he describes the benefits of this program to them. In each work camp, participants received religious instruction. Since several religions were represented at these camps, participants soon learned tolerance for other religions. This same benefit is applied to race, especially since the CCC was in existence before the negro was integrated into American society and

there were many negroes employed in the CCC. The participant also felt a sense of achievement and appreciation since he was working to help his parents as well as conserving the natural resources of the nation. He received on the job training and job experience.

He learnt how to use tools such as compressors and jack-hammers. He was taught how to drive heavy vehicles including trailers and bulldozers. Many learnt to read, write, type, and do bookkeeping. They became skilled in trades such as blacksmithing, masonry, carpentry, and leather craft. CCC participants were taught the rudiments of personal care. Hygiene, first aid, and safety were part of the daily routine. They learnt to wash and iron clothes, how to make a bed, and also good dietary practices. They learnt to be punctual, to take orders from their superiors, to accept responsibility, to be disciplined, and to cooperate with others. They learnt how to appreciate their surroundings and care for their natural resources.²¹¹

The army also benefitted a great deal from its participation in the CCC program. The CCC was a valuable training ground for its reserve officers in the areas of leadership and administration.²¹² Enlisted men also received training of inestimable value in leadership and initiative, since many of them were occupying higher positions and commanded more prestige that they would have under normal conditions.

The CCC was a novel experience for the U.S. Army. Its success in conducting the entire program had won it favorable reactions from the American public. Its participation provided it with training which it could not have received otherwise.²¹⁻ The CCC ended in June, 1943.

Army Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps(JROTC)

The following was compiled from my interview with Lieutenant Colonel Paul Lucas, Director of the Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps Program at Leavenworth High School(LHS) Leavenworth, Kansas; Lieutenant Colonel Royal A. Brown III; and Sergeant Major(Ret.) Calvin Foster. Lieutenant Colonel Lucas is a retired United States Army officer who served with the armored corps. He retired in 1984 and has been involved with the JROTC since that time. Lieutenant Colonel Brown is a former ROTC battalion commander and Professor of Military Science at Northwestern State University from 1988 to 1991. He also commanded ROTC extension centers at Louisiana State University and Centenary College, Louisiana. Sergeant Major(Ret.) Foster is a Training Technician-GS12 at U.S. Army Cadet Command, Department of Army Civilian. The interview covered areas such as the aim and purpose of the JROTC, programs conducted to achieve the aim, their results, problems encountered, and prospects for the future.

The JROTC program began in 1916 with the mission of motivating young people to become better Americans. The

program prepares high school students for responsible leadership roles while making them aware of their rights, responsibilities and privileges as American citizens. It also serves as a stimulus for promoting graduation from high school. It provides instruction and rewarding opportunities which benefits the student, the community, and the nation. Administered by the U.S. Army and the host high school, the program gives students an opportunity for total development. At present there are JROTC units in over 800 high schools across America.

JROTC program of instruction consists of a three-year or four-year program with a maximum of 108 core hours per year and 72 optional hours per year. While military institutes must conduct the four-year program, high schools have the option of conducting either the three-year or four-year program. Students in the ninth to twelfth grades in high school are eligible. Subjects taught include Techniques of Communication, Leadership, First Aid, Map Reading, History, Citizenship, Command and Staff Procedures, Technology Awareness, and the Role of the U.S. Army/Armed Forces.

Most JROTC units comprise three special teams. They are the Drill Team, Color Guards, and Rifle Team. Some units, like the one at LHS have additional teams such as the Cadet Chorus, the Drum and Bugle Corps, and the Cadet Rangers. The drill team takes part in competitions

throughout the school year. The team emphasizes discipline, instinctive obedience to orders, teamwork and cooperation, punctuality, and cleanliness. The color guard is aimed at promoting citizenship and it is deemed an honor, by JROTC members, to be a member of this group. The color guard attends high school games, parades and drill meets where it displays the colors. The rifle team is taught safety and marksmanship while preparing for nationwide rifle shooting competitions. The cadet chorus sings patriotic songs at high school games, military balls and other formal occasions. The drum and bugle corps performs in parades and appropriate community activities. The cadet rangers form the outdoor group and engages in camping, rapelling, orienteering, and other outdoor activities. By law, no tactics or combat instruction is permitted in the curriculum.

The United States Army provides all uniforms, equipment, and instructional material required by JROTC. Whenever anything else is required by JROTC units, they are expected to acquire such things through their own resources. JROTC members test their entrepreneurial skills by engaging in fund-raisers to finance their programs. The Army also contributes to the JROTC program through their retired members. All JROTC lecturers are former military personnel who act as mentors and motivators for the members. They serve as role models for them. Significantly, JROTC units

perform community service on a voluntary basis for groups in their community. For LHS JROTC unit, this service amounts to between three and four thousand hours each year.

In terms of its mission, the JROTC program is held to be successful. Its members have gone on to become respected managers, businessmen, administrators, and career professionals. In the high schools where winning competitions is considered to be very important, JROTC teams enjoy the esteem of the school in proportion to their competition successes. At LHS, based on a 1991-93 survey, 90 percent of the members go on to careers in the military, 28 percent receive ROTC college scholarships and six percent receive service academy appointments.

Due to its successful operation, there have been increasing demands from high school principals for the program to be implemented in their schools. Since 1993, 200 schools have been added to the program. The Army plans to expand the number of units to 1700 by 1997. Inner city schools are being targeted. It is perceived that there is a great need for this type of program in these schools. This need is based on program success in reforming delinquent youths and the presence of this type of youth in inner city schools.

An institution aimed at providing good citizens for America, the JROTC turns out citizens who are proud, civil,

honest, and hardworking. The army, by its involvement in provisioning and leadership, contributes to the building of America's human resource.

Analysis of Interviews

In my interview with Major Peter Joseph, Staff Officer for Training and Operations at the headquarters of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force, many issues were clarified. He noted that the military forces are well trained for light infantry operations and are highly professional. They possess organizational and managerial talents which are not fully utilized. In engineering, specifically road and bridge building, there is great proficiency, however there is a lack of equipment. Engineering personnel are constrained to borrow, for use, equipment from the Ministry of Works in order to maintain proficiency. This has hampered its training recently.

For disaster relief operations, there are on-the-shelf plans for various contingencies. The military has had experience in this type of operation at home, doing flood relief operations, in Jamaica after Hurricane Gilbert, and in Montserrat, St Kitts, and St Vincent after Hurricane Hugo. In these places, the emphasis was on restoration of facilities like electricity and water, repairing schools, providing limited medical treatment, and building temporary accommodation for displaced citizens. In all activities, there was great success. Electricity and water supply were

restored, schools were repaired, and temporary accommodation and medical treatment were provided for citizens of these islands.

The Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force has a capability to provide medical treatment, short of surgery, but it cannot be done on a continuous basis, due to service commitments. With an increase in personnel in the medical department, some medical treatment can be given to persons who reside in rural areas on a monthly basis. Major Joseph notes that the armed forces are able to train youths in sports and physical education, give lectures on social issues and provide training in plumbing carpentry, masonry, auto and diesel craft, electrical craft, computers, machine shop craft, fishing, music, and leadership.

In response to the question of concurrent discharge of its primary role and a nation building role, Major Joseph pointed out that based on past experiences there is every reason to expect both roles to be done successfully together. He did add, however, that an increase in personnel would make the situation much more manageable.

When asked whether the government has the will, resolve, and inclination to involve the military in nation building, Major Joseph made two points. First, he noted that in 1987, the former government did task the military to produce a plan for its involvement in nation building. Second, he noted that in March, 1993, a committee was set up

by the present government to develop and formulate proposals relating to an overall policy for the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force. The report of this committee was submitted to government in August, 1993. Included in it were recommendations for military involvement in nation building. In addition, he indicated that the government had set up a Civilian Conservation Corps, in mid-1993, under military supervision, to provide employment for the youths. In this program the military also has the duty of being role models for the youth. The government does appear to be supportive of the concept of military nation building.

My final question concerning legal or social barriers to the involvement of the military in nation building in Trinidad and Tobago were answered by Captain Fay Darlington. She is the Legal Officer of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force and is a qualified attorney. She stated that there are no such barriers to military nation building in Trinidad and Tobago. She cited previous limited use of it as reinforcement for the answer. For example, in 1970, servicemen were used to form and manage youth groups in depressed areas. The Engineering Corps has built roads and bridges in rural areas. She also examined the laws of Trinidad and Tobago and confirmed that there was no legal bar to it.

I also had interviews with Lieutenant Colonel Geoff Demarest and Mr Hunt of the Foreign Studies Office at Fort

Leavenworth. They possess special knowledge of the areas under study as well as the concept of nation building. They both questioned the role that the form of government had to play in the decision to use the military in nation building. Both suggested that the form of government was unimportant but that the existing civil-military relationship was more relevant. As my research continued, this view became more predominant and I am indeed grateful to them for that contribution.

I conducted interviews with Lieutenant Colonel Paul Lucas, Lieutenant Colonel Royal A. Brown III, and Sergeant Major(Ret.) Calvin Foster on the JROTC program. These interviews have been dealt with separately. I concluded that such a program would benefit the youth of any nation tremendously.

Also interviewed were the Chiefs of Delegation to the Inter-American Defence Board from Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela as well as the Defence Attache of the Republic of Korea in Washington, DC. They were asked the same questions which were in the survey questionnaire.

Analysis of Survey Results

The questionnaire contained seven questions which were approved by the survey office of the CGSC. (See appendixes A, B, and C). The results were statistically analyzed by this office. Out of a total of 94 students from 67 countries, responses were received from 48 students

representing 42 countries. Moreover, responses were received from 51.1 percent of the students and 62.7 percent of the countries. Of this group, 81.3 percent said that the armed forces in their country were engaged in nation building activities.

1. Seventy-five percent of the countries surveyed are engaged in agriculture, with 47.2 percent at a very low level, 22.2 percent at a moderate level, and 19.4 percent at a high level (see table 1).

2. Seventy-five percent of the countries surveyed are engaged in animal husbandry with 58.3 percent at a very low level, 13.9 percent at a low level, and 11.1 percent at moderate and high levels (see table 2).

3. Seventy-nine percent of the countries surveyed are engaged in education with 26.3 percent at a very low level, 23.7 percent at low and moderate levels, and 18.4 percent at high levels (see Table 3).

4. Eighty-one percent of the countries surveyed are engaged in engineering with 15.4 percent at a very high level, 35.9 percent at a high level, 23.1 percent at a moderate level, and 17.9 percent at a low level (see table 4).

5. Seventy-seven percent of the countries surveyed are engaged in industrial development with 48.6 percent at a very low level, 18.9 percent at a low level, and 24.3 percent at a moderate level (see table 5).

6. Seventy-nine percent of the countries surveyed are engaged in health services with 23.7 percent at a very low level, 28.9 percent at a moderate level, 26.3 percent at a high level, and 15.8 percent at a very high level (see table 6).

7. Seventy-nine percent of the countries surveyed are engaged in youth development with 23.7 percent at a very low level, 26.3 percent at a low level, 18.4 percent at moderate and high levels, and 13.2 percent at very low levels (see table 7).

8. Seventy-seven percent of the countries surveyed are engaged in fishing with 75.7 percent at a very low level, 10.8 percent at a low level, and 5.4 percent at moderate and high levels (see table 8).

In summary, youth development, health services, engineering and agriculture are the most heavily pursued activities in nation building. Fishing is not well supported while animal husbandry, industrial development and education receive moderate support.

The majority of respondents (61.9 percent) states that the military officers are respected in their country. This ranks with teachers (71.4 percent), lawyers (69 percent), and engineers (61.9 percent). Doctors were the only group of people who were highly respected (73.2 percent).

Most respondents (84.8 percent) indicated that there was no objection to the use of the military in nation building in their country. There was, however, strong objection from trade unions in 8.3 percent of the countries, from opposition politicians in 25 percent, from businessmen in 11.4 percent, from civil servants in 8.3 percent, from the military in 11.4 percent, from the clergy in 5.7 percent, and from university students in 11.8 percent of the countries. Significantly there was strong objection from the unemployed in only 2.9 percent of the countries surveyed. Ninety-four percent of the countries have democratic governments while six percent were constitutional monarchies.

With its present resources in trained leadership, medical and engineering manpower, the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force could pursue youth development, health services and engineering activities in Trinidad and Tobago though some civil augmentation is desirable. It is likely that the level of objection to such a program would be low with most objection coming from university students and opposition politicians.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Military organizations and personnel play a crucial role in determining the social, political, and economic life conditions of a large segment of the world's population.¹ Indeed, the concept of Military Civic Action (MCA) is a formalized approach to what has gone on in an informal manner since the beginning of organized government.²

It was my purpose to examine the possibility of using the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force in nation building activities in Trinidad and Tobago. Using case studies, interviews, literature, and a survey, I have attempted to outline the advantages and disadvantages of military involvement in nation building. The underlying basis for any military-led nation building is the civil-military relationship which exists at the particular point in time. Based on my research, the biggest risk which a developing country faces when it formalizes military involvement in the development of society, is the military becoming so politicized that it intervenes directly in domestic politics. The research pointed at ways to avoid this situation and therefore this risk should not force a

country to be denied the use of the military's organizational skills, leadership, manpower and equipment.

In Chapter 1, I outlined the theoretical basis for the examination of the thesis question with an overview of the nation building problem in developing countries. I noted that many developmental models have been tried with varying degrees of success. To begin the research process, a brief description of Trinidad and Tobago was given, incorporating the factors which bear directly on its development. The importance of its history is emphasized because of its influence on existing civil-military relations. The examination of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force and its roles, assisted in determining the ease with which it can undertake nation building activities. The importance of this research is stressed especially in view of the comments made by so many authors concerning the paucity of literature on this subject.

In Chapter 2, the extant literature was reviewed. The various books and other material necessary to help readers appreciate the study are included. In addition, the patterns of civil-military relations as identified by several authors were described. A narrative approach to the literature dealing with nation building theory and the role of the military attempted to make links between the theory and practice of military nation building.

In Chapter 3, the elements of the research process were identified and their significance highlighted. The process was meant to be intimately interwoven with each part supporting and reinforcing the other. The case studies were the most important aspect of the research and constituted the bulk of it. From them, the pros and cons of military involvement on society can be ascertained. This was the most rewarding and satisfying part of the research.

The survey provided a larger, though less detailed investigation. Of the 94 students and 67 countries surveyed, responses came in from 49 students and 42 countries. Responses came in from four students after the deadline set and therefore were not used.

Chapter 4 presented the research data from the case studies, interviews, and survey. From the empirical data, it seems that the military is most effective in developing infrastructure and has good potential for work in health and human resource development. In Venezuela, road building was a major activity leading to social and economic development. A unique feature of nation building was noted in the development of "Granja Militares." The major role of the national guard in law enforcement again is unique in Venezuela. Its medical units concentrate on serving citizens in remote areas thus increasing their welfare level. The Venezuelan military is obviously doing exceptionally good work in improving literacy in the

country, judging from the recognition given to it by UNESCO. The civil-military relationship between the armed forces and the Venezuelan government has allowed the military to be involved in nation building activities and not intervene in domestic politics. Noting the attempts at intervention made by some military personnel in 1992, it is to its credit that the system prevailed and the coup attempts failed. These actions, however, suggest that the concept of civilian supremacy over the military is being threatened in Venezuela.

In Argentina, the armed forces made a great contribution to development in industry, infrastructural development, and territorial expansion. In human resource development, its contribution is also significant, providing leadership in critical times as well as producing a steady flow of dedicated, disciplined citizens. It is noted that much of the intervention of the Argentine Armed Forces in politics is a result of its politicization by civilian leaders and its experience of caudillismo. Since the end of the Malvinas War, the military has not intervened in politics, thereby expressing acceptance of the principle of civilian control of the military.

The Brazilian case study shows that the armed forces of Brazil have played an important role in the development of society since 1889. They have suppressed revolts while giving support to the government, civilian and military.

They have provided leadership for the country in the office of president, as cabinet ministers and other high level administrative officials. Their skills have been used in the management of industry, in research and development, through its technicians and engineers. The armed forces have assisted in the education of Brazil's citizens from the elementary to university levels of schooling.

Their disaster relief role involves rebuilding damaged infrastructure, evacuation, and medical treatment. The military also builds roads, railroads, and bridges in its attempt to open up the hinterland. Overall the Brazilian Armed Forces have contributed to the political, economic, and social development of the Brazilian society, emphasizing nationalism, supporting national policy while exercising its moderating power and providing upward social mobility opportunities to the lower class.

Chapter 4 continued with the Malaysian case study which showed many similarities to Trinidad and Tobago. From its form of government and civil-military relations to its limited employment in nation building, the Malaysian case very closely parallels Trinidad and Tobago. In its internal security role, the military has countered insurgency. During disaster relief, it has repaired roads and bridges, evacuated citizens, and provided medical help. The Malaysian military also assists the civil power in law enforcement. It further uses its personnel to assist the

youths through the training of school cadets and to provide special skills in other government departments where such skills are required. All these activities have been or are being done by the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force at home or abroad. Apart from the above, they also engage in environment protection, rural development, and drug rehabilitation programs.

In the ROK, we see the armed forces engaged in the full spectrum of nation building activities. In politics, they have provided leadership at all levels, revised the constitution, and built a culture of nationalism. They have reformed the economy, provided decision implementation strategy, supplied skilled personnel and managers to industry, while developing technology through research and development. In this sphere they have actively pursued reform of the work ethic. On the societal level, the ROK military is an avenue for social progress. Its image has been improved by the application of its resources in the agricultural field, in disaster relief operations, in environment protection, by its blood donation program, and law enforcement.

In the section dealing with the interviews, we were able to answer all the subsidiary questions and thereby eliminate any areas of doubt. Lieutenant Colonel Lucas, Lieutenant Colonel Brown and Sergeant Major (Ret.) Foster provided vivid insights into the JROTC program using their

personal experiences. Mr. Hunt and Lieutenant Colonel Demarest advised strongly on using caution with young democracies like South Korea, Brazil and Argentina. Major Peter Joseph provided a realistic view of the capabilities of the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force.

Chapter 4 closes with the survey analysis. This analysis very closely mirrored the facts revealed in the case studies. Military nation building is done in most of the countries surveyed though to varying degrees.

To conclude, given the state of the society in Trinidad and Tobago, politically stable, economically stagnant and socially declining, there is much which can be done by the armed forces to help in nation building. In cooperation with the Ministry of Works and the Forestry Department, rural areas can be opened up. This would enhance tourism, agriculture, encourage spread of population, and provide job opportunities. Road and bridge building activities would provide useful training for both the civilian and military technicians.

The military in Trinidad and Tobago can be used to augment the health services in the rural areas while giving lectures in environment protection. It can assist in training school cadets, instilling a sense of discipline, pride, self esteem, and nationalism. An examination of the nation building roles for the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force cannot be done here, but it is sufficient to say that

in addition to the roles now being performed, a greater contribution can be made by it in a well structured, carefully implemented program.

Such a program would have distinct advantages. First, the military would be producing tangible results which the ordinary citizen could see and appreciate. This would be especially so in the case of citizens who benefit directly from the military's efforts. This could also pay high political dividends for the government while stabilizing the society. Second, the military is kept active and productive. Both the servicemen and the society benefit from it: the military, through on the job training and the society, from the products.

Third, the use of the military in nation building activities maximizes its potential. This is especially important in Trinidad and Tobago where the threat of invasion or insurgency is remote. Manpower and equipment not dedicated to military tasks can be used to augment civil departments. The fourth advantage is an increased acceptance of the military as part of the society. Nation building activities are an effective tool for creating good civil-military relationships with the politicians, the civil technocrats and the society. In community based projects, the military becomes closely tied to the people which results in a society sympathetic to and identifying with the armed forces and government.

The dangers of military nation building must be stressed. The main disadvantage of military nation building continues to be the possibility that the military might intervene in domestic politics. This could lead to human rights violations, social unrest, violence, and eventually social decline. It could also adversely affect the economy by causing unemployment among civilians as firms close down in the face of competition from the military. It could also create a dependency syndrome as citizens come to depend on the military to solve their problems.

This study ends with the hope that there will be continued research into the contributions made by armed forces worldwide, towards nation building. Being a pioneer investigation of the possibility of using the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force in nation building, I hope that it will form the basis for further study on this particular topic as well as related issues. Military contributions to development are generally accepted by society with minor objections coming from small groups pursuing vested interests. This, of course, serves as part of the system of checks and balances to ensure that there is no abuse of military power. The Trinidad and Tobago military is well trained, politically aware, has internalized the concept of civilian control of the military, and remains professional. In today's world where the trend to democratic government is growing, Trinidad and Tobago is a guiding light, with a

military force committed to supporting the government's efforts to secure advancement for its people.

TABLE 1

LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTION IN AGRICULTURE MADE BY ARMED FORCES

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
VERY HIGH	1	1	2.1	2.8
HIGH	2	7	14.6	19.4
MODERATE	3	8	16.7	22.2
LOW	4	3	6.3	8.3
VERY LOW	5	17	35.4	47.2
	.	12	25.0	Missing
		-----	-----	-----
		48	100	100

Source: Thesis survey

TABLE 2

LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTION IN ANIMAL HUSBANDRY MADE BY ARMED FORCES

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
VERY HIGH	1	2	4.2	5.6
HIGH	2	4	8.3	11.1
MODERATE	3	4	8.3	11.1
LOW	4	5	10.8	13.9
VERY LOW	5	21	43.8	58.3
	.	12	25.0	Missing
		-----	-----	-----
		48	100	100

Source: Thesis survey

TABLE 3

LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTION IN EDUCATION MADE BY ARMED FORCES

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
VERY HIGH	1	3	6.3	7.9
HIGH	2	7	14.6	18.4
MODERATE	3	9	18.8	23.7
LOW	4	9	18.8	23.7
VERY LOW	5	10	20.8	26.3
	.	10	20.8	Missing
		----	-----	-----
		48	100	100

Source: Thesis survey

TABLE 4

LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTION IN ENGINEERING MADE BY ARMED FORCES

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
VERY HIGH	1	6	12.5	15.4
HIGH	2	14	29.2	35.9
MODERATE	3	9	18.8	23.1
LOW	4	7	14.6	17.9
VERY LOW	5	3	6.3	7.7
	.	9	18.8	Missing
		----	-----	-----
		48	100	100

Source: Thesis survey

TABLE 5

LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTION IN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT MADE BY
ARMED FORCES

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
VERY HIGH	1	2	4.2	5.4
HIGH	2	1	2.1	2.7
MODERATE	3	9	18.8	24.3
LOW	4	7	14.6	18.9
VERY LOW	5	18	37.5	48.6
	.	11	22.9	Missing
		----	----	----
		48	100	100

Source: Thesis survey

TABLE 6

LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTION IN HEALTH SERVICES MADE BY ARMED
FORCES

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
VERY HIGH	1	6	12.5	15.8
HIGH	2	10	20.8	26.3
MODERATE	3	11	22.9	28.9
LOW	4	2	4.2	5.3
VERY LOW	5	9	18.8	23.7
	.	10	20.8	Missing
		----	----	----
		48	100	100

Source: Thesis survey

TABLE 7

LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTION IN YOUTH DEVELOPMENT MADE BY ARMED FORCES

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
VERY HIGH	1	5	10.4	13.2
HIGH	2	7	14.6	18.4
MODERATE	3	7	14.6	18.4
LOW	4	10	20.8	26.3
VERY LOW	5	9	18.8	23.7
	.	10	20.8	Missing
		----	-----	-----
		48	100	100

Source: Thesis survey

TABLE 8

LEVEL OF CONTRIBUTION IN FISHING MADE BY ARMED FORCES

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
VERY HIGH	1	1	2.1	2.7
HIGH	2	2	4.2	5.4
MODERATE	3	2	4.2	5.4
LOW	4	4	8.3	10.8
VERY LOW	5	28	58.3	75.7
	.	11	22.9	Missing
		----	-----	-----
		48	100	100

Source: Thesis survey

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE LETTER

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN NATION BUILDING

Dear International Officer,

In most countries today, development is the principal concern of government. Sometimes the armed forces are called upon to assist in this effort, undertaking important projects to further nation building. The object of this questionnaire is to obtain information on the contributions made by the military, in your country, towards nation building. The information will be used in my MMAS thesis entitled "Can the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force be used successfully as an instrument of nation building in Trinidad and Tobago?" I am depending on your cooperation and your early response, which will be treated in the strictest confidence.

I should be grateful if you would place your completed forms in my box by February 7, 1994.

Yours sincerely,

Lieutenant Colonel C. Basil Thompson
Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force

APPENDIX B

BASE QUESTIONS

1. General information.

- a. Name: _____
- b. Rank: _____
- c. Branch: _____
- d. Country: _____

2. Has the armed forces in your country been involved in nation building activities?

(Nation building is defined as the development of the human, physical, and administrative infrastructure in a nation. It refers to the building of roads, bridges, hospitals, and schools. It also encompasses activities geared towards the promotion of education, health, and welfare of the nation's citizens.)

Yes _____

No _____

3. State period: From _____ to _____

4. Has there been any objection to the use of the military in nation building in your country?

Yes _____

No _____

5. What form of government does your country have? (Check one)

- a. Military _____.
- b. Democratic _____.
- c. Dictatorship _____.
- d. Other (please specify) _____.

APPENDIX C
SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

Use the attached answer sheet for all questions in this appendix.

A. For Numbers 1 through 8, in each area of activity, please indicate the level of contribution made by your armed forces towards nation building. (Use the following scale.)

Very high	High	Moderate	Low	Very low
A	B	C	D	E

Areas of activity

1. Agriculture. eg. planting crops, harvesting.
2. Animal husbandry eg. cattle rearing, poultry farming.
3. Education. eg. teaching in schools, universities, technical and vocational institutes.
4. Engineering eg. building roads, bridges, schools, hospitals.
5. Industrial development. eg. participating in industries like aircraft manufacture, heavy equipment, iron and steel.
6. Health services. eg. providing medical services to the rural population free of charge.
7. Youth development. eg. having programs for youth to encourage discipline, physical fitness, moral and spiritual development.
8. Fishing.

B. For Numbers 9 through 22, give your perceptions of your country's esteem for each of the professions listed. (Use the following scale.)

Highly Respected	Respected	Cannot say	Disrespected	Highly Disrespected
A	B	C	D	E

Professions

9. Doctor.
10. Lawyer.
11. Military officer.
12. Teacher.
13. Engineer.
14. Chemist.
15. Nurse.
16. Priest.
17. Police officer.
18. Businessman.
19. Trade union official.
20. Professional athlete.
21. Politician.
22. Artist.

C. For Numbers 23 through 30, if there has been objection to the use of the military in nation building in your country, please state the level of objection received, from the groups listed below. (Use the following scale.)

Very strong objection	Strong objection	Cannot say	Little objection	No objection
A	B	C	D	E

Groups

23. Trade unions.

24. Opposition politicians.
25. The unemployed.
26. Businessmen.
27. Civil servants.
28. The military hierarchy.
29. The clergy.
30. University students.

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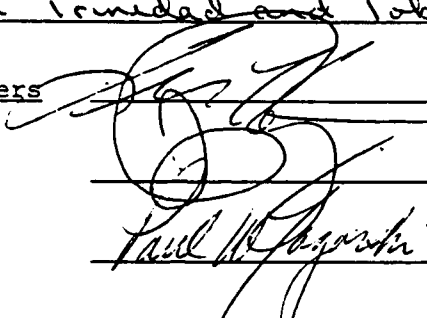
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